

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. L. GRIFFITH

TWENTY-FIFTH MEMOIR

THE ROCK TOMBS OF MEIR

PART IV.

THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF PEPI'ONKH THE MIDDLE SON
OF SEBKHOTPE AND PEKHERNEFERT (D, No. 2)

BY

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WITH TWENTY-SEVEN PLATES

(FIVE PHOTOGRAPHIC)

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PREFACE.

THE drawings for this record of the tomb-chapel of Pepi' onkh the Middle, son of Sebkhotpe and Pekhernefert, were made during the months of January to April 1921, but most of the photographs were taken in the Spring of 1913, shortly after the tomb-chapel had been unearthed by SEYD BEY KHASHABEH. The whole of this last time that I was at Meir I shared my camp with my sister, Miss W. S. BLACKMAN, who, as Oxford University Research Student, was carrying on what have proved to be most valuable anthropological investigations among the *Fellāhīn*. I had also residing with me five of my pupils, lads of from fifteen to eighteen years of age, whom I was preparing for the University, together with their tutor, Mr. EDWARD LIVEING of St. John's College, Oxford. The last-named, since he has become editor of *Discovery*, has devoted a great deal of space in that admirable periodical to articles on archaeological and anthropological research-work in Egypt.

That I was able to record this large tomb in the space of time at my disposal, I owe almost entirely to my sister, who, on the top of her own arduous work, undertook entire responsibility for the domestic well-being of this by no means small establishment, keeping the accounts, managing the servants, and most efficiently controlling the commissariat, — not a light task in a desert-camp several miles away from the nearest village!

I particularly wish to tender my thanks to my old pupil, Mr. D. J. V. FORSTER, now of Pembroke College, Oxford, who devoted a great deal of his time to assisting me in all manner of ways. His are the photographs 2, 3, and 4, on Pl. XXIII., and he is also responsible for a large part of the drawings reproduced on Pls. XVII.—XX. To another old pupil, Mr. GEOFFREY CHAMBERS, now of Worcester College, I am indebted for all the plans and sections on Pls. I. and II., to Mr. J. MARTIN-HARVEY of Christ Church for the sketches reproduced on Pl. XXVI., to Mr. RONALD FULLER of Merton College for undertaking the general index on pp. 57—60, and to Mr. GRIFFITH and Mr. BATTISCOMBE GUNN for several valuable suggestions. Lastly I must express my sincere thanks to Professor SETHE of Göttingen University for the assistance he has given me, not only in the elucidation of the two biographical inscriptions (see pp. 23 foll.), but also in the rendering of many of the little explanatory inscriptions attached to the various figures, or groups of figures, in the sculptured and painted scenes. The extent of this assistance is, I hope, made fully clear in the following pages.

I should add that by a most regrettable oversight I omitted to record in the preface to *Meir*, iii, my grateful thanks to Mrs. QUIBELL for so kindly making for me, while on a visit in my camp in the Spring of 1913, the coloured facsimile of the interesting piece of wall-decoration in tomb-chapel B, No. 4, reproduced on Pl. XXVIII of that work.

Oxford, December 4th, 1923.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

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THE ROCK TOMBS OF MEIR.

PART IV.

THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF PEPI'ONKH THE MIDDLE SON OF SEBKHOTPE AND PEKHERNEFERT (D, No. 2).

TITLES OF PEPI'ONKH.¹

	PLATES
 Baron and Bāsha. ²	IV A, 1, XII, XV.
 Baron.	XI.
 Basha.	VI, 1, 2, VIII, IX, XI, XIV, XVI.
 Who is in the Chamber.	IV A, 1, VI, 1, 2, XV.
 Herdsman of Nekhen.	IV A, 1, VI, 1, 2, XV.
 Chief Nekhebite.	IV A, 1, VI, 1, 2.
 Chief Justice.	IV A, 1, XII, XV.
 Vizier.	IV A, 1, XII, XV.
 Superintendent of the Scribes of the King's Records.	IV A, 1, XV.
 Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt.	IV A, 1, VI, 1.
 Staff of the Apis.	IV A, 1.
 Mouth of Every Butite.	IV A, 1.
 Superintendent of the Two Granaries.	IV A, 1.

¹ The order followed is that of the list on the frieze of the west wall of the forecourt (Pl. IV A, 1). The titles not occurring in that list are marked with an asterisk *.

² See *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, p. 18 footnote 1.

PLATES	
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PLATES	
	Real Superintendent of Upper Egypt. ¹
	First Under the King.
	First Under the King in the House of the Great One.
	Staff of the <i>Rekhyt</i> .
	<i>Iwn-k3-mwt.</i>
	Prophetess of Me'et.
	Over the Secrets of the Commanding of Any Matter of the King.
	Favourite of the King in Every Place of his.

TITLES OF PEPI'ONKH'S RELATIONS AND DEPENDENTS.

I

PLATES.	
1.	Superintendent of the Cattle (?)
2.	Superintendent of a Department of the Tenants of the Great House. ²
3.	Superintendent of the Fishers.
4.	Steward.
5.	Favourite Steward of his Lord.
6.	Superintendent of Land.
7.	Superintendent of the Prophets.
8.	Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor.
9.	Superintendent of the Scribes.
10.	Superintendent of the King's Scribes.
11.	Superintendent of the Land-Scribes.
12.	Superintendent of the Garden.

¹ See below, p. 26, note 8.² See GARDINER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 45, pp. 129 foll.; DAVIES, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, Pl. XXXI, p. 34; MURRAY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX.

13.		Gang-Superintendent. ¹	PLATES XV, XVI.
14.		Superintendent of the Toilet.	VIII, IX, XII.
15.		Superintendent of the Sealing.	XVI.
16.		Imy-het hn...t. ²	XV.

M.

17.		Herdsman.	XVI.
18.		Herdsman of the <i>Thentet</i> -cows. ³	XV.
19.		The Serfs of the Estate.	IX.
20.		Phylarch.	XVI.

R.

21.		Mouth of the Book.	XV.
22.		King's Acquaintance.	IV, 1, 2, XIV, XV.

H.

23.		Prophet.	XII.
24.		Prophetess of Hathor.	XV.
25.		Prophetess of Hathor, Mistress of Cusae.	IV, 1, IX, XIV.
26.		The <i>Ka</i> -servants.	IX.
27.		The <i>Ka</i> -servants of the Estate.	XII.
28.		Town-'Omdehs.	XV.
29.		'Omdeh of an 'Ezbeh.	XIV, XV.

H.

30.		Musician Priestess.	IV, 2.
31.		Musician-Priestess of Hathor.	VII, IX.
32.		Musician-Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of Cusae.	IV, 2.

¹ See BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, i, § 522 = NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, i, Pl. VIII, line 16.

² See below, p. 40.

³ See *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pp. 2, 7 foll.

33. , Caterer. PLATES VIII, IX, XIV.

34. , Director of the Attendants. VIII.

H.

35. , Lector. VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIV.

36. , First under the King. III, 2, IV, 2, VII-IX, XV.

37. , First under the King of the Great House. VIII, IX, XIII, XIV, XVI.

38. , Subordinate of the Head of the Granary. XV.

S.

39. , Judge. IX, XV.

40. , Judge and Nome-Administrator. VIII, XVII.

41. , Judge and Nome-Administrator of the Great House. IX.

42. , Physician of the Great House. VIII, IX, XII, XVI, XVII.

43. , Scribe. III, 1b (?), XV.

44. , Scribe of the King's Records. XV.

45. , Scribe of the House of the God's Book of the Great House. XVII.

46. , Scribe of the Temple. XV.

47. , (var. ), Nome-Scribe. VIII, XIV.

S.

48. , Companion. III, 2.

49. , Unique Companion. VII-IX, XII, XIV, XV.

50. , Companion of the (King's) House. IX.

51. , (smšw pr), Seneschal. IX.

52. , (smšw whrt), Master of the Wharf. XII.

53. , Confraternity of the (Tomb-)Estate. IX.

54. , Inspector of the Washermen (?). XV.

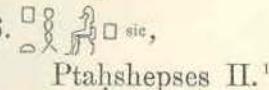
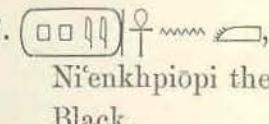
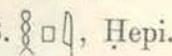
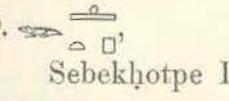
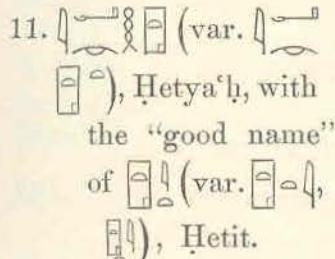
55. , (var. ), Inspector of the Prophets. VII, VIII, XII, XIV, XVI, XVII.

	PLATES
56.  , Inspector of the <i>Ka</i> -Servants.	III, 1a, 2, 3, VI, 1.
57.  , Inspector of the Artisans.	XIV.
58.  , Inspector of the <i>Ka</i> -House.	III, 1b.
59.  , Inspector of the Physicians.	VIII, IX, XII, XIV, XVII.
60.  , Inspector of the Scribes.	XIV, XV.
61.  , Inspector of the Draughtsmen.	VIII.
S.	
62.  , King's Gentleman.	VII-IX, XII, XIV-XVII.
63.  , King's Lady.	XIV.
READING UNKNOWN.	
64.  , Treasurer of the God.	XVI.

MEMBERS OF PEPI'ONKH'S FAMILY.

NAME	STATUS	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES ¹	PLATES
1.  with the "good name" of  , Hepi (Pl. XV).	Father.	His father, First under the King (36), Superintendent of the Prophets (7).	IV, 2.
		His father, First under the King (36), Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor (8), whose great name is Sebkhotpe, honoured by the god, whose good name is Hepi.	XV.
2.  (var. ) with the "good name" of  , Bebi (Pl. XV).	Mother.	King's Acquaintance (22), Musician-Priestess (30), his mother, King's Acquaintance (22) Prophetess of Hathor (24), honoured by her Mistress (  ).	XV.
3.  (var.  ) Khunukh.	Brother.	King's Gentleman (62), his brother, Inspector of the Prophets (55).	VIII.
		King's Gentleman (62), his brother.	XII.
4.  Pepi'onkh.	Brother.	Lector (35) King's Gentleman (62), his brother	XII.

¹ The numbers in brackets are those of the list of titles on pp. 3—6.

NAME	STATUS	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
5. 	Brother.	First under the King (36), his brother.	IX (register 5).
6. 	Brother.	First under the King (36), his brother.	IX (register 4).
7. 	Brother.	King's Gentleman (62), his brother.	IX (register 4).
8. 	Brother.	First under the King (36), his brother.	IX (register 4).
9. 	Brother.	First under the King (36). Superintendent of Land (6).	IX (register 5).
10. 	Brother.	Judge and Nome-Administrator of the Great House, (40) his brother.	IX (register 5).
11. 	Wife.	His wife, his beloved, King's Acquaintance (22) Prophetess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae (25)	IV, 1.
		His wife, his beloved, King's Acquaintance (22) Musician-Priestess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae (32).	IV, 2.
		His wife, his beloved.	V, 2.
		His wife, his beloved, Musician-Priestess of Hathor (31).	VII.
		Prophetess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae (25), King's Acquaintance (22), his wife, his beloved, Musician-Priestess of Hathor (31).	IX.
		King's Lady (63), King's Acquaintance (22), Pro- phetess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae (25).	XIV.
		King's Acquaintance (22), Prophetess of Hathor (24).	XV, XVII.
		King's Acquaintance (22), Prophetess of Hathor, Mistress of Cusae (25).	XV.
		Honoured by the great god.	XVIII, 1, 3, XIX, 1.
12. 	Son.	His son, his beloved, First under the King (36). First under the King (36).	XV. XIV.

¹ There were evidently two brothers named Ptahshepses and two named Sebkhotpe, just as there were three named Pepi'onkh (see *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pp. 9 foll.).

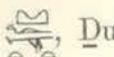
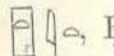
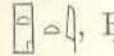
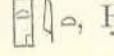
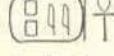
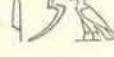
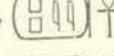
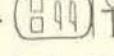
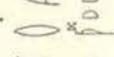
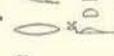
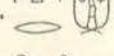
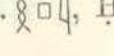
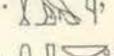
² See below, p. 41, with note 7.

NAME	STATUS	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
13.	Son (?). ¹	'Omdeh of an 'Ezbeh (29), Unique Companion (49).	XV.
Pepi'onkh, with the additional name of , Neferkai.		'Omdeh of an 'Ezbeh (29), Unique Companion (49).	XIV. ²
14. , 'onkh.	Son.	His son, First under the King (36), Superintendent of Land (6).	XV.
15. , Ni'enkhpiopi the Black, also named , Hapi the Black	Eldest Son.	His son, First under the King (36), Unique Companion (49). First under the King of the Great House (37), Unique Companion (49).	VII.
			VIII, IX (register 5).
		His eldest son, his beloved, Unique Companion (49), Superintendent of the Prophets (7).	XII, XIV (right).
16. , Son.		Unique Companion (49), Superintendent of the Prophets (7).	XIV (left).
Ni'enkhpiopi, with the additional name of , Hapi the Red.		First under the King of the Great House (37).	XVII.
		His son, Lector (35), Unique Companion (49).	VII.
		First under the King of the Great House (37), Unique Companion (49).	IX (register 5).
		His son, his beloved, Unique Companion (49), Lector (35).	XIV (right).
		Unique Companion (49), Lector (35).	XIV (left).
		Judge and Nome-Administrator (40).	XVII.
17.	Son.	His son, his beloved, King's Gentleman (62), Phylarch (20).	XVI.
Khunukh.		First under the King (36).	XIV.
18.	Daughter.	His daughter, his beloved.	IX (register 4).
(var.		Titles, if ever written, destroyed.	XIV.
Peshernefert (var. Pekhernefert).		[His] daughter.	XV.
19. , Mertit.	Daughter.	His daughter, his beloved.	IX.
		His daughter, King's Acquaintance (22).	XIV.
20. , Tet.	Wife of no. 15.	His (Hapi the Black's) ³ wife, his beloved.	XIV.

¹ He stands beside Hetay'ah along with Ukh'henen, who is definitely labelled "his (i. e. Pepi'onkh the Middle's) son".

² The name has been destroyed, but Neferkai is the only relative of Pepi'onkh the Middle with the title "'Omdeh of an 'Ezbeh".

³ She is seated just beside Hapi the Black.

NAME	STATUS	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
21.  Neferkai.	Son, of His (Hepi the Black's) no. 15. son.		XIV.
22.  Duftet.	Daughter ¹ of No.15.		XIV.
23.  Neferkai	Son of No. 16?	King's Gentleman (62).	XIV.
24.  Hetit.	Daughter of No.16?	King's Acquaintance (22).	XIV.
25.  Hetit. ²	?	King's Acquaintance (22).	XIV.
26.  Pepi'onkh. ³	?	King's Gentleman (62).	XIV.
27.  Hetit. ⁴	?		XIV.
28.  Pepi'onkh.	Husband of No.19?	King's Gentleman (62).	XIV.
29.  Ima.	Male Relative.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV (right).
30.  Bebi.	Female Relative.	King's Acquaintance (22).	XV (right).
31.  [Pep]i'onkh.	Male relative.		XV (right).
32.  Pepi'onkh.	Male relative.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV (right).
33.  Pepi'onkh.	Male relative.	Title destroyed.	XV (right).
34.  Mertetefs.	Female relative.	King's Acquaintance (22).	XV (right).
35.  Mertetefs.	Female relative.	King's Acquaintance (22).	XV (right).
36.  Methsuma. ⁵	Male relative.	Scribe of the Temple (46).	XV (right).
37.  Nuberkis.	Female relative.	King's Acquaintance.	XV (right).
38.  Hepi.	Perhaps identical with no. 8 and therefore a brother.	First under the King (36), Herdsman of the <i>Thentet-cows</i> (18).	XV (right).
39.  Hemi.	Female relative.	King's Acquaintance (22).	XV (right).
40.  Sebkhotpe.	Perhaps identical with no.9 or 10 and therefore a brother.	First under the King (36).	XV (right).
41.  Thetu.	Male relative.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV (right).

¹ Apparently so. She is seated beside Hepi the Black and his wife.

² Either wife of no. 12 beside whom she is sitting, or else an otherwise unmentioned daughter of Pepi'onkh the Middle.

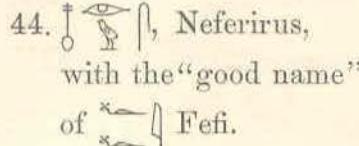
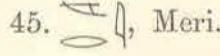
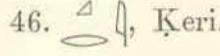
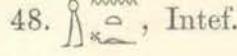
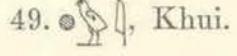
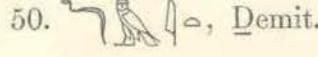
³ Either Pepi'onkh the Middle's son, and identical with no. 13 or 14, or else his son-in-law and the husband of no. 18, beside whom he is seated.

⁴ Either wife of no. 26, beside whom she is seated, or if no. 26 and 18 are husband and wife, their daughter.

⁵ See below, p. 40.

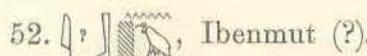
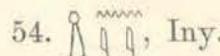
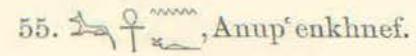
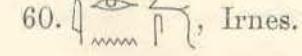
NAME	STATUS	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
42. Name destroyed.	Male relative.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV (right).
43. Name destroyed.	Female relative.	King's Acquaintance (22).	XV (right).

RELATIVES OF HETYAH.

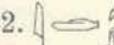
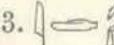
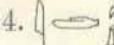
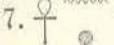
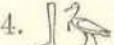
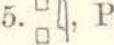
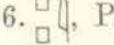
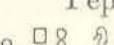
NAME	STATUS	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
44.  , Neferirus, with the "good name" of  Fefi.	Mother.	Her mother.	XV (left).
45.  , Meri.	Uncle.	Brother of her father.	XV (left).
46.  , Keri.	Brother.	Her brother, the Lector (35).	IX (register 3).
47.  , User.	Male relative.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV (left).
48.  , Intef.	Male relative.	Title destroyed.	XV (left).
49.  , Khui.	Male relative.	First under the King (36).	XV (left).
50.  , Demit.	Female relative.	No title.	XV (left).

NAMES OF PEPI'ONKH'S DEPENDENTS.

I

NAME	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
51.  , Iuhi.	Inspector of the <i>Ka</i> -Servants (56).	III, 3.
52.  , Ibenmut (?).	Inspector of the Artisans (57).	XIV.
53.  , Ibdi.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
54.  , Iny.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
55.  , Anup'enkhnef.	Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
56.  , Intef.	Title obliterated.	XIV.
57.  , Intefidu.	Inspector of the Washermen (?) ¹ (54).	XV.
58.  , Iri.	Caterer (33).	IX (register 5).
59.  , Iri.	Under the Head of the Granary (38).	XV.
60.  , Irnes.	Caterer (33).	IX (register 4).

¹ See below, p. 42, with footnote 2.

NAME	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
61.  Isesi.	Judge (39) and Mouth of the Book (21).	XV.
62.  Id.	King's Gentleman (62), Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
63.  Idy.	No Title.	IX (register 3).
64.  Idy.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
65.  Idu.	Inspector of the Washermen (?) ¹ (54).	XV.
66.  I....	Judge (39), Scribe (43).	XV.
67.  Enkhaf.	Superintendent of the Scribes (?) (9).	XV.
W.		
68.  Wadnefer.	Steward (4), Caterer (33).	IX (register 3).
69.  Uiu.	Superintendent of the Land-Scribes (11).	XV.
70.  Wa'.	Inspector of the Prophets (55).	XV.
71.  Ukhmer'enkhaf.	[Inspector] of the Prophets (55), Steward (4). First under the King of the Great House (37), Inspector of the Prophets (55), Steward (4).	XII. XIV.
72.  Ukhemsaf.	Inspector of the Prophets (55).	XVII.
72 A.  Ukhemhet.	A steersman with no title.	XVI.
B.		
73.  Bak.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV.
74.  Bak.	Caterer (33).	VIII.
P.		
75.  Piopi.	King's Gentleman (62).	IX (register 5).
76.  Piopi, also named  Pepisonb.	King's Gentleman (62), Inspector of the Prophets (55).	VII, XVI.
77.  Pepisonb.	King's Gentleman (62).	IX (register 3).
78.  Ptahshepses.	Steward (4).	IX (register 4).
79.  Ptahshepses.	Master of the Wharf (52).	XII.

¹ See below, p. 42 with note 2.² See below, p. 43, note 4.³ Perhaps identical with no. 76.

NAME	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
	F.	
80.  Fefi.	King's Gentleman (62).	XII.
81.  Fefi.	Superintendent of the Garden (12).	IX (register 5).
82.   Fefy.	Inspector of the <i>Ka</i> -House (58), Superintendent of the Cattle (?) (1), Scribe (?) (43).	III, 1b.
	M.	
83.   Memy.	Same person as Ni'enkh-khnum, No. 91.	
84.  Meni.	A herdsman with no title.	XVI, XVII.
85.   Merer.	Superintendent of the Land-Scribes (11).	XVI.
86.   Emrōri.	Steward (4).	XV.
87.   Emrōri.	Title destroyed, probably a Superintendent of the Scribes.	(IX register 4).
88.  Mesh.	King's Gentleman (62).	XV.
89.   Emsheth.	King's Gentleman (62).	XVI.
90.   Emsheth, also named   Netri.	No title.	IX (register 4).
	N.	
91.  (var.                    , Nefer.	King's Gentleman (62).	VIII.
96.  , Neferibd.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
97.  , Neferihy.	A woodman with no title.	XIV.
98.  , Neferbakt.	Steward (4).	XII, XV, XVI.
99.  , Neferbetek.	Superintendent of the Toilet (14), Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
100.  , Neferher.	Judge (39), Superintendent of the Scribes (?) (9).	IX (behind Pepi'onkh).
101.  , Nenki.	King's Gentleman (62).	XIV.
102.  , Nikhnemhotpe.	Steward (?) (4).	IX (register 3).
103.  , Netri, Same person as Emsheth, No. 90.		XVII.
104.  , Netri.	Inspector of the Prophets (55).	XII.
105.  , Nedemib.	Steward (4).	IX (register 3).
106.  , Nedemib.	(var.  , Nedemib.) Superintendent of the Toilet (14).	XII, XVII.
107.  , Herunefer.	Gang-Superintendent (13).	XVI.

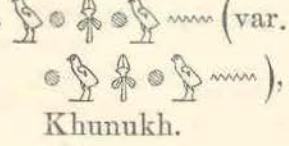
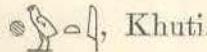
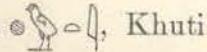
H.

108.  , ¹ Haishtef.	No title, but probably an 'Omdeh.	XV.
109.  , Hepi.	First under the King (36), Judge and Nome-Administrator (40).	VIII.
110.  , Hepi.	King's Gentleman (62).	VIII, IX (register 3).
111.  , Hepi.	King's Gentleman (62), Scribe (43).	XV.
112.  , Hepi.	Attendant beside Hetay'a'h's chair with no title.	IX.

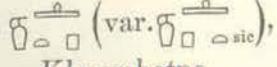
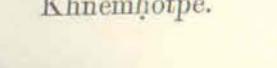
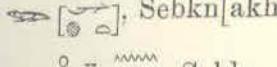
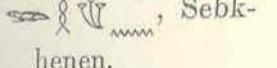
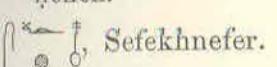
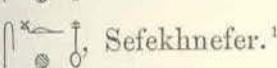
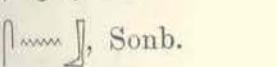
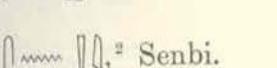
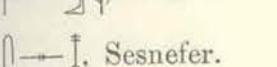
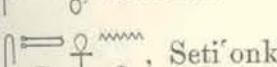
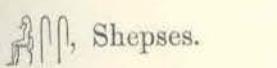
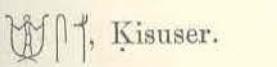
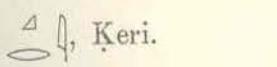
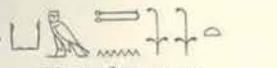
¹ See below, p. 41, note 2.

NAME	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
113.  , Hemi.	Inspector of the <i>Ka-Servants</i> (56).	III, 2.
114.  , Heni.	Herdsman (17), Gang-Superintendent (13).	XV.
115.  , Heny.	Titles destroyed.	XII.
116.  , Heneni.	First under the King (36), Superintendent of the Land-Scribes (11).	VIII.
117.  , Henenit.	Inspector of the <i>Ka-Servants</i> (56), whom his lord loves.	III, 3.
118.  , Henk[u?].	King's Gentleman (62).	XV.
119.  , Hehi.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
120.  , Hekni.	King's Gentleman (62), Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
121.  , Hekny.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
122.  , Hotpi.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.

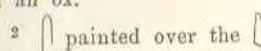
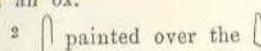
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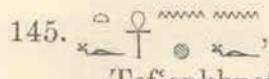
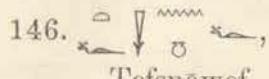
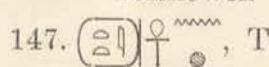
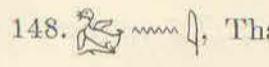
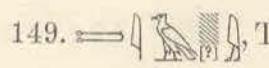
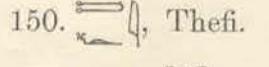
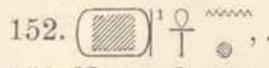
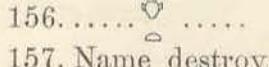
123.  , Khui.	Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
124.  , Khunukh.	Companion (48), First under the King (36), Steward (4), Honoured by his Lord, doing what he praises, what he desires.	III, 2.
	King's Gentleman (62).	VII.
	King's Gentleman (62), Steward (4), Inspector of the <i>Ka-Servants</i> (56), Superintendent of the Toilet (14).	IX (register 5).
	Lector (35).	XII.
125.  , Khunukh the Eldest.	King's Gentleman (62).	XVII.
126.  , Khunre.	King's Gentleman (62).	IX (register 4).
127.  , Khusuukh.	Nome-Scribe (47).	XIV.
128.  , Khuti.	King's Gentleman (62).	IX.
129.  , Khuti.	Steward (4).	IX.
130.  , Khenunes. ¹	Steward (4).	IX (register 4).

¹ See below, p. 32, note 5.

NAME	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
<u>H.</u>		
131.  (var.  ^{sic}), Khnemhotpe.	Superintendent of the Toilet (15).	IX (register 5), XVII.
<u>S.</u>		
132.  Sebkn[akht]. <i>Imy-h^t hn...t</i> (16).		XV.
133.  Sebk-henen.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
134.  Sefekhnefer.	Superintendent of the King's Scribes (10).	IX (register 5).
135.  Sefekhnefer. ¹	Caterer (33).	IX (register 4), XIV.
136.  Sonb.	Superintendent of a Department of the Tenants of the Great House (2).	XVI.
137.  Senbi. ²	King's Gentleman (62), Steward (4).	VII.
138.  Sesnefer.	Seneschal (51).	IX (register 4).
139.  Seti'onkh.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
<u>S.</u>		
140.  Shepses.	Superintendent (?) or Inspector (?) of the Scribes (9).	XV.
<u>K.</u>		
141.  Kisuser.	Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
142.  Kisemsaf.	King's Gentleman (62), Steward (4).	IX (register 5).
143.  Keri.	King's Gentleman (62), Companion of the (King's) House (50).	IX (register 5).
<u>K.</u>		
144.  Kamthenen.	Lector (35), Inspector of the Draughtsmen (61).	VIII.
	Lector (35).	IX (register 3).
	Scribe of the King's Records (44), Judge (39), Superintendent of the Scribes (9).	XV.
	Scribe of the House of the God's Book of the Great House (45).	XVII.

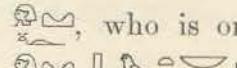
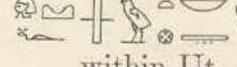
¹ He appears twice in the same register, as an attendant beside his mistress' chair, and assisting at the cutting up of an ox.

²  painted over the 

NAME	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
	T.	
145.  Tef'enkhnef.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
146.  Tefsnewef.	An agricultural labourer with no title.	XIV.
147.  Tetionkh. King's Gentleman (62).		XIV.
	T.	
148.  Thani.	Inspector of the <i>Ka</i> -Servants (56), who does what his lord praises.	III, 1a.
149.  Thia...iy. King's Gentleman (62).		IX (register 3).
150.  Thefi.	Caterer (33).	IX (register 5).
151.  Thema (?)	Superintendent of the Toilet (14).	IX (register 3).
152.  'onkh. Man with no title punting papyrus boat.		VII.
153. Name destroyed.	Superintendent of the Fishermen (3), First under the King (36), Nome-Scribe (47).	VIII.
154. Name destroyed.	First under the King (36), Scribe	VIII.
155. Name purposely obliterated.	King's Gentleman (62), Steward (4).	IX.
156. 	<i>Imy-bt hn...t</i> (16).	XV.
157. Name destroyed.	<i>Imy-bt hn...t</i> (16).	XV.
158. Name destroyed.	Judge (39), Superintendent of the Scribes ² (9).	XV.
159. No name.	Superintendent of the Toilet (14).	VIII.
No name.	Superintendent of the Toilet (14).	VIII.
160. No name.	Director of the Attendants (34).	VIII.
161. No name.	Superintendent of the Sealing (15).	XVI.

RELIGION.

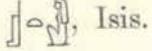
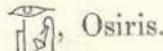
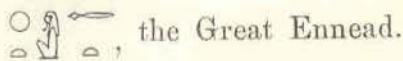
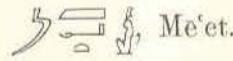
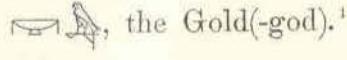
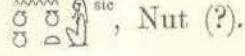
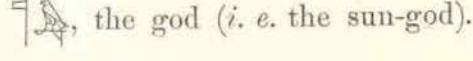
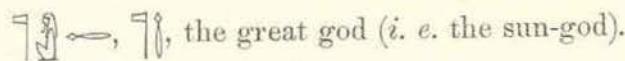
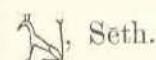
DIVINITIES.

DIVINITY	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
 Anubis.	 who is on his hill.	XI, XVIII, 1, 2, XIX, 1.
	 who is on his hill, within Ut, lord of the high land. ³	XIX, 2.

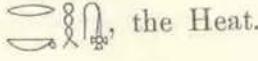
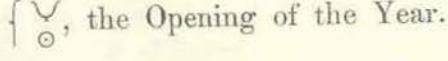
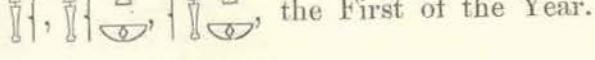
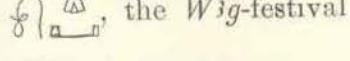
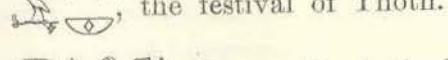
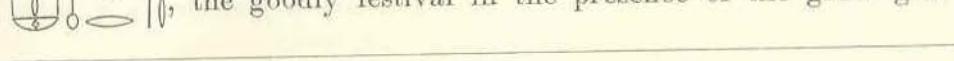
¹ I saw traces of what looked like ~~~~ in middle of the cartouche. The name cannot be Mernerē¹ as the ~~~~ comes in the wrong place.

² See below, p. 41, note 5.

³ See below, p. 22, note 6.

DIVINITY	TITLES AND ATTRIBUTES	PLATES
	Isis.	IV, 2.
	the Hathor-Pillar called <i>b3t</i> (<i>i. e.</i> female <i>bai</i> or "soul")	VI, 2.
	Osiris.	XI.
	the Great Ennead.	IV, 2.
	Me'et.	IV A, 1.
	the Gold(-god). ¹	IX (register 4).
	Nut (?).	IV, 2.
	the god (<i>i. e.</i> the sun-god).	IV, 1, lines 5, 11, IV, 2, lines 5, 6.
	the great god (<i>i. e.</i> the sun-god).	IV, 2, line 3, XI.
	Apis.	IV A, 1.
	Hathor.	Passim.
	Horus.	IV, 2, IX (register 4).
	Seth.	IV, 2.

FESTIVALS.

	the festival of Sokaris.	IV A, 1, XI.
	the Heat.	IV A, 1.
	the Opening of the Year.	IV A, 1, XI.
	the First of the Year.	IV A, 1, XI.
	the <i>Wig</i> -festival	IV A, 1, XI.
	the festival of Thōth.	IV A, 1, XI.
	the goodly festival in the presence of the great god.	IV A, 1.

¹ See below, p. 31².

PEPI'ONKH THE MIDDLE AND HIS FAMILY.

Pepi'onkh the Middle, feudal lord of the fourteenth nome of Upper Egypt, and Superintendent of the Prophets, *i. e.* high-priest, of the local divinity *Hathor*, was the son of Sebkhotpe and Pekhernefert. Sebkhotpe, who bore the additional name of *Hepi*, had himself been ruler of the nome in question and high-priest of *Hathor*,¹ his wife Pekhernefert, also known as *Bebi*, having, of course, in her capacity of wife of *Hathor*'s high-priest been that goddess' chief musician-priestess.²

Sebkhotpe seems to have had ten sons, three of whom were called Pepi'onkh³—Pepi'onkh the Middle, as his name indicates, being the second of these three in point of age. Of the remaining⁴ seven sons, two bore the name of *Ptahshepses*, and two that of Sebkhotpe, the others being called *Khunukh*, *Ni'enkhpiopi* the Black, and *Hepi*. There was possibly also another son named *Ni'enkhkhnum*.⁴

Pepi'onkh the Middle bore three names. In the eight vertical lines of inscription at the bottom of the façade-stela in room C, he is alternately designated Pepi'onkh the Middle and *Neferka* (Pl. XI), *Nerferka* appearing as his principal name, and Pepi'onkh the Middle as his "good name," on the west wall of the forecourt north of the entrance to room C (Pl. IV, 2). On the other hand, Pepi'onkh the Middle always seems elsewhere to be assigned to him as his principal name, except in his burial chamber, where he bears simply the designation "Superintendent of the Prophets, *Heny*" (Pl. XIX, 2), this name *Heny*, however, appearing as his "good name" on the

north thickness of the doorway between the forecourt and room C (Pl. VI, 1).

The name *Neferka* indicates that its bearer was born during the reign of Piopi II, Sebkhotpe, Pepi'onkh's father, having apparently been born during the reign of Piopi I.⁵

Pepi'onkh the Middle held the high office of vizier, and there is something to be said for the suggestion in *Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part I, p. 10, that when he received this important appointment, his younger brother, the owner of tomb-chapel A, No. 2, also named Pepi'onkh, succeeded him as local ruler of the nome. Pepi'onkh the Middle was also *Chief Justice* (*s; b-sbty* [?]),⁶—an office regularly held along with the viziership⁷—and *Superintendent of Upper Egypt*,⁸ to which title in both cases where it occurs, is attached the attribute *Real*, as is not infrequent during the latter part of the Old Kingdom, both in the case of this and other titles.⁹ Pepi'onkh is also once designated *Superintendent of Upper Egypt in the Midmost Nomes*,¹⁰ as though his jurisdiction, in this particular capacity, did not extend outside Middle Egypt.

⁵ See *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, *loc. cit.*

⁶ For this reading of  see ERMAN-GRAPOW *Ägyptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 142.

⁷ E. g. SETHE, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, i, pp. 58, 60, 68; MURRAY, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, Pl. XLVII, col. 2 (7), Pl. L. col. 4 (3).

⁸ For an elaborate article on this title, see GAUTHIER, *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, pp. 217-244.

⁹ See GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 231 with note 1; SETHE, *op. cit.* i, p. 110. In all other instances the adjective *m3* "real" is used, but in the two instances of the title being assigned to Pepi'onkh the simple adjective is replaced by the combination *n bw m3* "of reality".

¹⁰ SETHE tells me he knows of no other occurrence of this particular title.

¹ See *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, p. 9.

² See below p. 25, note 10.

³ See *op. cit.* i, pp. 9 foll.

⁴ See above, pp. 6 foll., also p. 32².

Our Pepi'onkh seems to have had as many as six sons, and two daughters, all their names being given above in the list on pp. 7 foll.

If we are to believe what is told us in his biography, which is inscribed on either side of the doorway on the west wall of the fore-court of his tomb-chapel, Pepi'onkh was equally successful as an administrator in Church and in State, winning both the royal and divine favour, and also the approbation of his fellows. But his successes evidently stirred up jealousy, for at some time or other during his official career a false accusation was brought against him, from which, however, he succeeded in

completely clearing himself, when the case came into the Courts.¹

The biography likewise informs us that Pepi'onkh was the first person to excavate a tomb-chapel in that particular part of the high desert slope,²—his father's tomb-chapel being situated about a mile further north, and that of his eldest brother on the opposite bank of the Nile behind the village of Kuseir el-Amarna.³

From the same source we learn that *having grown old very happily*, Pepi'onkh died at the good old age of a hundred.⁴

¹ See below, p. 25². ² See below, pp. 24 foll.

³ See *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pp. 5 foll. and 9 foll.

⁴ See below, pp. 24 foll.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB-CHAPEL.¹

The tomb-chapel of Pepi' onkh the Middle (D, no. 2), as already stated in *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pp. 7 and 16, was discovered by SEYD BEY KHASHABEH's workmen in March 1913. It is situated at the southern end of the site and is a good half-hour's walk from the group of Middle Kingdom tomb-chapels designated B, three of which form the subject of the first three parts of this series. Apart from the combined tomb-chapel of the youngest Pepi' onkh and his father Sebkhotpe, that of Pepi' onkh the Middle is by far the largest of the tomb-chapels at Meir, and, when newly completed and still untouched by the ravages of time and men's wanton destructiveness, it must have presented a pleasing, indeed a rather impressive, appearance.

As can be seen from the ground-plan and sections on Pls. I and II, it consists of a colonnaded forecourt (A) with a small chamber (B) at the north-west corner, a large outer room (C), all the walls of which are decorated with painted reliefs, and a smaller, very irregularly shaped and undecorated, inner room (D). The last mentioned room is the *pr-twt*, "statue-chamber,"² for in it was found a pair of seated figures in limestone representing the owner of the tomb-chapel and his wife.³

¹ A description of the tomb-chapel and of the antiquities found in the course of the excavation, three plans, copies of all the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and drawings of details in certain of the reliefs, have been published by AHMED BEY KAMĀL in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xv, pp. 209—258.

² See A. M. BLACKMAN, *The Ka-House and the Serdab*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iii, pp. 250—254.

³ AHMED BEY KAMĀL, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 258.

THE FORECOURT.

(Pls. III—V, XXII, 1 and XXIII, 2.)

The forecourt, which is about 5 metres long and from 4·50 to 4·80 metres wide, had, judging from what was disclosed by SEYD BEY's excavations in 1913, a colonnade, consisting probably of six plain rectangular pillars, running round all four walls. This appears pretty clearly in the upper photograph on Pl. XXII, taken in March of that year, and in the not very accurate plan published by AHMED BEY KAMĀL,⁴ according to both of which four of the six postulated pillars were still standing in their original positions. But, as can be seen from another photograph, Pl. XXIII, 2, between January 1914 and January 1921, when I again started my work on this site, all four columns had been removed, with the connivance, so it was said, of the Antiquities' guards! Unfortunately there were no traces in the ground of where the pillars had once stood, and so their position could not be indicated in the plan. It should be pointed out that the upright stone, appearing in the last-named photograph, is a fallen roofing-slab, which the thieves had not thought it worth while to remove. A humbugging old guard declared that it was the one and only column that was standing when the forecourt was first cleared of débris in 1913, that it had fallen down, and that he had set it up in the exact spot in which it had previously stood! In the 1913 photograph this stone can be recognized standing beside the now vanished north-west pillar.

⁴ See *op. cit.*, xv, p. 211, fig. 1.

The same photograph shows two of the roofing-blocks of the colonnade in their original position in the south-west corner, and they were still *in situ* in the spring of 1921.

The north, east, and south walls of the forecourt are constructed entirely of masonry; the west wall, however, is simply the face of the limestone slope, cut back till a façade of sufficient height was obtained. The east end of both north and south walls is in a very ruinous condition, the top courses of masonry having been removed or fallen down. Of the east or entrance wall only the bottom course remains intact. The north and south walls are entirely undecorated, save for a few *graffiti*. The west wall, however, in which is the doorway admitting to room C, the main room of the tomb-chapel, is covered with inscriptions and reliefs. On either side of the doorway is a biographical text, accompanied by representations of Pepi'onkh and his wife, and above these, running the whole length of the wall, is a frieze consisting of three long lines of inscription and sunk reliefs at either end.

The east and south walls of the small chamber B are constructed entirely of masonry, but the west wall, like the corresponding wall of the forecourt, is formed out of the face of the hillside. It was impossible to ascertain the nature of the north wall, as it was covered up to the roof with *débris*. The chamber is roofed with long slabs of stone lying east and west and extending its whole length.

Possibly this chamber was meant to hold the wooden platform and other articles and materials employed in, and left over from, the embalming of Pepi'onkh the Middle's body. A small chamber attached to a tomb recently discovered by the American expedition at Thebes, was clearly intended to serve that purpose.¹

¹ See *The Egyptian Expedition MCMXXI—MCMXXII*, Part II of the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, December, MCMXXII, p. 34.

THE GRAFFITI ON THE NORTH AND SOUTH WALLS.

(Pl. III)

These *graffiti*, which are in the form of very rough representations of certain of Pepi'onkh's *ka*-servants, were no doubt carved on the walls of the forecourt after that nomarch's death, —one of them (1b), apparently, many years after that event²—possibly with the idea that the persons depicted might, when they too died, obtain some share in the offerings presented to their noble master and derive some benefit from the funerary liturgy periodically celebrated on his behalf within the tomb-chapel. The idea of these *ka*-servants of Pepi'onkh would then have been somewhat similar to that of the Middle Kingdom devotees of Osiris, who erected memorial stelae near that god's tomb at Abydos, believing that they would thereby be enabled to participate in, and derive benefit from, the ceremonies performed in honour of the god of the dead at this very sacred place.³ Thus on the stela of a certain Khentimsemyt we read:—*I set my name at the place wherein is the god Osiris Khentamenthes, for the sake of the benefit there, in the midst of the worshippers of the Lord of Life; that I may eat his bread of oblation, that I may go up by day, that my bai may participate in the ceremonies of men kind in heart to my cenotaph (m'h't) and in hand to my stela.*⁴ The same sort of statement is made on a similar monument by a certain Amenemhet:—

² See below, p. 22 with note 4.

³ The object of other dependants of Pepi'onkh—among them being agricultural labourers—in associating with themselves various figures in the reliefs decorating the walls of room C, by labelling them, or having them labelled, with their names in white or black paint (see e. g., Pls. VIII, IX, XIV, p. 36), was probably different to that of the above mentioned *ka*-servants, namely in order that after their death they might still go on serving their master in their old capacities.

⁴ *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, ii, Pl. 9; see also Pl. 18, and iii, Pl. 5.

I made this cenotaph at the stairway of the great god, the Lord of Life, who presides in Abydos that I may smell the incense which has issued from within (pry m hnt), furnishing myself with the essence of the god.¹

To return to the *graffiti*, which are four in number, three being on the north, and one on the south, wall. The three on the north wall (see Pl. III, 1a, 1b, and 2) are close together, two, nos. 1a, and 1b, being one above the other on the pilaster in the middle of the wall, and the third just to the west of the pilaster and beside the lower of its two companion representations.

The *graffiti* 1a and 1b (the latter very rudely scratched and the accompanying inscription in semi-hieratic signs) commemorate respectively the *Inspector of the Ka-Servants, who doeth that which his lord praiseth, Thani*, and the *Inspector of the Ka-House* (𓁃 𓁄 𓁅)², *Superintendent of the Cattle* (𓁃 𓁄 𓁅), the *Scribe*³ (?) *Fefy* (𓁃 𓁄 𓁅⁴). The third *graffito* (2) represents the *Companion, First under the King, the Steward, honoured by his lord, doing what he praises, what he loves, Khunukh*, accompanied by the *Inspector of the Ka-Servants, Hemi*, the latter, a very diminutive figure, holding a trussed goose, which is intended, no doubt, as an offering for *Pepi'onkh*.

The *graffito* on the south wall (Pl. III, 3), which is carved on a block in the third course of masonry at the west end of the wall, depicts

¹ LANGE-SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, no. 20497.

² So read by SETHE.

³ Very dubious, SETHE reads the sign as 𓁃, but it may just possibly be 𓁃.

⁴ This, as SETHE points out, is an impossible writing of the name in the Old Kingdom, and the *graffito* must therefore have been engraved by some mortuary priest during the period between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties.

the Inspector of the Ka-Servants, whom his lord loves, Henenit, who holds a live duck, and the Inspector of the Ka-Servants, Iuhi, who carries a trussed duck on a tray.

THE INSCRIPTIONS AND RELIEFS ON THE WEST WALL.

(Pls. IV, IV A, and V; see also Pls. XXII, 1, and XXIII, 2)

The Frieze.

(Pls. IV A, 1 and V)

The frieze, which as already stated, extends all along the west side of the forecourt, projects more than a centimetre beyond the surface of the rest of the wall, as can be clearly seen in the two photographs on Pls. XXII and XXIII.

At the north end is a sunk relief (Pl. V, 1) depicting an array of victims, bound and slaughtered, with the severed right foreleg placed on top of each. The accompanying label (in high relief) reads *Front (of the offering-table),⁵ choice pieces*. At the south end are two sunk reliefs, the one depicting the *Unique Companion, Pepi'onkh the Middle seated, with his wife, his beloved, Hetayā'h* standing behind his chair, and the other depicting the same pair sitting at meat, with the signs for *a thousand of cattle*, and for a similar number of each of five varieties of duck, written in front of them.

The rest of the frieze is composed of three long horizontal lines of inscription, consisting of a version of the usual *htp di nswt* formula and an enumeration of *Pepi'onkh*'s titles, as follows:—*Grace granted by the king (and) Anubis who is on his hill, he who is in the god's booth (i. e. the embalmer's shed), he who is in Ut, the lord of the necropolis (t3 dṣr).*⁶ Grace

⁵ See below, p. 51¹.

⁶ *T3 dṣr* perhaps means “the elevated land” i. e. the high land which lies beyond the reach of the inundation and in which the dead were buried (see EMBER, *Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words*, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 51, p. 120, no. 99).

granted by Osiris, that he (the deceased) may attain burial (lit. unite with the earth) in the West in his (the god's) name, that he may be interred in the cemetery (hrt ntr), that there may be a "coming up unto the voice"¹ for him at the festival of Sokar, the Heat, the Opening of the Year, the First of the Year, the Wg-festival, the festival of Thōth, at the goodly festival in the presence of the great god. (2) The Baron, Bāsha, He who is in the Chamber, Herdsman of Nekhen, Chief Nekhebite, Chief Justice, Vizier, Superintendent of the Scribes of the King's Records, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Staff of the Apis, Mouth of every Butte, Superintendent of the Two Granaries, Superintendent of the Two Places of Purification, Superintendent of the Royal Domain (gś-pr),² Judge and Nome-Administrator, Scribe of the King's Records in the Presence, Treasurer of the God, Draughtsman, Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, (3) Chief Lector, Sem-priest, Unique Companion, Lector, Superintendent of Upper Egypt in the Midmost Nomes,³ First under the King, Staff of the Rekhyt, Iwn-k3-mwt, Prophet of Mē'et, Over the Secrets of the Commanding of Any Matter of the King, Favourite of the King in Every Place of his.

The Lintel of the Doorway.

(Pl. XXII, 1)

On the lintel, just below the frieze, is written:
 The Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi-onkh the Middle.

¹ See W. S. BLACKMAN, *Some Modern Egyptian Graveside Ceremonies*, in *Discovery*, ii, pp. 211 foll.

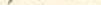
² See BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, i, §. 522 = NEWBERRY, *Bami Hasan*, i, Pl. VIII, A.

³ Cf. the inscription in front of Pepi' onkh on Pl. XVI, p. 43; cf. also perhaps Carnarvon Tablet, No. 1, obverse,

*The Inscriptions and Accompanying Reliefs
on the
North and South Sides of the Entrance to Room C.
(Pls. IV, XXII, 1, and XXII, 2)*

Below the frieze, on either side of the doorway admitting to Room C, is a biographical inscription, consisting of eleven lines of deeply incised hieroglyphic signs (no doubt originally coloured blue or green,) accompanied by a relief depicting Pepi'onkh and his wife standing together. He holds a staff in one hand and a baton of office in the other, while she has placed one arm about her husband's neck, the hand resting on his shoulder. Above their heads in similarly incised signs are written their names, parentage, and a selection of their titles.

The two biographical inscriptions, particularly that on the south side of the doorway, are much weather-worn, and unfortunately in many instances whole groups of signs have disappeared. Dr. A. H. GARDINER and I made hand-copies of the inscriptions in March 1913, subjecting them to two most careful revisions in different lights. I made the actual-size facsimile, reproduced on Pl. IV, with these copies beside me, and was able to get very little more out of the original than was already to be found in my notebook. After having worked over the inscriptions in Oxford, I sent my tentative translation, a proof of Pl. IV, and a number of questions, to Professor SETHE, whose great knowledge of Old Kingdom texts has enabled him to fill up several of the lacunae, and in some cases improve on my readings of defaced groups of signs. His suggestions as to the translation of certain passages have been invaluable, and it is almost impossible adequately to acknowledge in footnotes the help he has given me. But here let me say that without

 „Elephantine is strong, and the middle part (??) is with us as far as Cusae (GARDINER, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, iii, p. 103).

his assistance both the translation and the text itself would have been far inferior to what, thanks to his knowledge and kindness, I am able to lay before the readers of this memoir. I must add that Mr. BATTISCOMBE GUNN has also supplied me with a number of very useful and interesting suggestions and references. Copies of both inscriptions embodying Professor SETHE's restorations and emendations appear on Pl. IV A.

The biographical inscription on the north side of the entrance reads as follows:—*I passed my lifetime for 100 years among the living recipients of honour, the possessor of a ka¹. I spent a great part of this time (2) as Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, entering in unto Hathor Mistress of Cusae, seeing her,² performing the ceremonial (iht) for her with my hands. (3) I am one honoured by the king. I am one honoured by the great god, I am one honoured by men. I am one beloved of his father, (4) praised of his mother, I am one beloved of his brethren. I spent all the time that I spent exercising (lit. in) the functions of a magistrate, (5) in doing good (and) saying what was desired, for the sake of winning a good character with the god, for the sake of attaining old age³ [in my city]. (6) I judged two parties so that they were satisfied, for they knew that it was what God willed.⁴ Never did I go to bed in vexation*

¹ For the expression *hry k3*, see *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii, p. 22, note 2.

² Cf. the words pronounced by the chief officiant during those episodes in the temple liturgy known as the *Seeing of the god*, and the *Uncovering of the face of the god*:—*It is the king who has sent me, to see the god* (MOKET, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, pp. 55, 113; see also BLACKMAN, *The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy*, in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1918—1919, pp. 48 foll., and 52.

³ As SETHE has pointed out to me *i3wt* is an infinitive here like *sbt*. He also suggested the restoration *m nwt·i* “in my city.”

⁴ SETHE thinks that  should be inserted between *htp·sn* and the following  (the spacing of the signs

[with any people]⁵, (7) because of their disposition which I encountered (lit. which encountered me.)⁶ Now I caused my magistracy-income to be expended in the West,⁷ in the region of (8) the Mistress of Righteousness,⁸ in a clear place, in a good place, wherein no work had been done,

suggests this emendation),           <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for a person" data-bbox="9270 235

wherein others¹ (9) who were before me had never yet worked.² It is I who have opened up this region. It will serve³ as a necropolis, it will do⁴ (10) what is desired; indeed I devoted myself to it greatly while among the living. I have come⁵ unto it, now that I have grown old⁶ (11) very happily, now that I have spent my lifetime among the living in the shadow of my honour with the king.⁷

Above Pepi'onkh's head is written:—*Prophet of Isis and Hathor, Prophet of Horus and Seth, Prophet of the Great Ennead, Prophet of Nut(?)⁸, Neferka, whose good name is Pepi'onkh the Middle, son of the First under the King, Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor, Sebkhotpe,⁹ (and) son of the King's Acquaintance, the Musician-Priestess¹⁰ (hmwt), Pekhernefert.*

¹ SETHE restores  11, which, he informs me, is the older writing of  11.

² For the whole conception of this paragraph, cf. *Urkunden*, i, 50, 13—15:—*I made this tomb (is) upon the shoulder (i. e. ridge) of the West in a clear place (ist w'bt), wherein was no tomb of any people, in order to protect the property of one who has gone to his ka.*

³  11 Can have no connection with  11 (11 and 11—11). It is a derivative from  “to rebel” (constr. with 11).  11 =  11:—“it (the w'rt) will serve (or the like) as a necropolis.” (SETHE).

⁴ Here again 11 stands for *iw-s*.

⁵ SETHE corrects  11 to  11. Only so are the two dependent clauses introduced by *sk-wi* intelligible.

⁶ The repetition of  11 at the top of line 11 is probably just a case of dittography.

⁷  11 “in the shadow of,” i. e. “under the protection of;” cf. *Urkunden*, i, 51,  11  11  11  11  11  11  11  11  11  11  11 *I made this tomb in the shadow of my honour with the king.* SETHE refers me to a similar passage in *op. cit.* i, 49, 7, where  11 is used alone without  11. He informs me that  11 is to be read *sw*, and refers to *Pyr.* 1105d, 1377a, 1487a.

⁸ The determinative is bearded!

⁹ See *Rock Tombs of Meir*, it, p. 9.

¹⁰ Title of the high-priestess of Hathor of Cusae; see

Above the wife we read:—*His wife, his beloved, The King's Acquaintance, Musician-Priestess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, Hetyāh, whose good name is Hetit.*

The biographical inscription on the south side of the door is as follows:—*I spent all the time that I spent exercising the office of magistrate,¹¹ in a seal-office¹² until my end. Never did the (or my) seal remain a night away from me,¹³ from the time that I was appointed¹⁴ (2) as magistrate. Never was I put under restraint, never was I imprisoned. As for anything that was said about me before the magistrates (3) I came out successful on that score, while it (the charge) recoiled¹⁵ upon the accusers; since I was cleared¹⁶ therefrom before the magistrates, (4) since they, namely¹⁷ (the accusers), were speaking against me slandering me. O all people who go northward and come southward, (5) as surely as the king lives for you, as surely as the god before whom ye are lives for you, do ye give me bread and beer of that which ye have, do ye elevate with your hands, (6) do ye make oblation with your mouth.¹⁸ As for those who*

BLACKMAN, *The Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vii, p. 10.

¹¹ *ṣrt*, which GUNN regards as an infinitive, occurs also in *Urkunden*, i, 106, 9.

¹² I. e. an office which had its own special seal (SETHE). SETHE takes  11 which also appears in the plural form in *Urkunden*, i, 78, to read *iswt* “office, as do also Griffith (see DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrāwi*, ii, p. 30) and BREASTED (*Ancient Records*, i, § 281).

¹³ Or *Never did I pass a night in which the seal was away from me.*

¹⁴ *Dr r[di]t-i*; SETHE's restoration.

¹⁵ This rendering is proposed by SETHE who suggests that *hr* or *tp* should be restored after *isr*.

¹⁶ This meaning of *b3k*, which primarily means “to be bright,” was suggested to me by GUNN, who compares the transferred meaning of the English word “clear.”

¹⁷ GUNN points out that the use of *is* here is an extension of its very common appositional use “nämlich.”

¹⁸ According to GARDINER in 1913 the reading  11 was probable, and the following  11 certain. This group of signs is now much defaced.

shall act in the matter¹ according to what I say, they (?) shall be blessed (7) it shall be done² according to what they desire. I am a spirit better furnished than [all other] spirits, [a noble one (s'li) beyond (r) all other noble ones] that have ever been.³ (8) I am one honoured by the king and by his (?) god.⁴ Everything also went well in my hand while⁵ I was priest to Hathor Mistress of Cusae, while I protected the divinity, (9) to her satisfaction. O all people who go northward, who come southward, as surely as the king lives for you, as surely as the god (10) before whom ye are lives for you, what ye say (namely) "May Hathor Mistress of Cusae beatify the Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi'onkh the Middle"—as for all people who say (it), it shall be [done] to do what they desire they (or them) the god. I say (it) as a truthful speaker, I do not say (it) as one who boasts.

Above the figure of Pepi'onkh is written:—*Unique Companion, Lector, Over the Mysteries of the House of the Morning*,⁶ First under the

King, Staff of the Rekhyt, Iwn-k3-mwt, Prophet of M3'et,⁷ Superintendent [of the Prophets] of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, Pepi'onkh the Middle]. The wife is designated:—*His wife, his beloved, the King's Acquaintance, Prophetess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, Hetj3'ah, whose good name is Hetit.*

DOORWAY ADMITTING TO THE MAIN ROOM C.
(Pl. VI)

North Thickness.
(Pl. VI, 1)

The available space is occupied by a sunk relief representing Pepi'onkh as coming out through the doorway, staff in hand. The inscription in front of him—incised hieroglyphs painted blue—reads:—*The B3'ha, Chief Nekhebite, Herdsman of Nekhen, Chancellor of the Lower Egyptian King, Unique Companion, Lector, Real Superintendent of Upper Egypt, Pepi'onkh the Middle.* (2) *Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi'onkh, whose good name is Heni.* The small figure of the attendant, who stands in front of Pepi'onkh holding an incense-brazier, the contents of which he is stirring up with a stick, is labelled:—*The Inspector of the Ka-Servants, Favourite Steward of his Lord, Khunukh.*

South Thickness.
(Pl. VI, 2)

Here again is another similar representation of Pepi'onkh, but in raised relief. He is de-

¹ So GUNN, who refers to *ddt-n-f im* "what he said in the matter" (*Urkunden*, i, 8, 16) and compares *dd m* "to speak about" (WEILL, *Décrets Royaux*, p. 82, line 6 of the inscription).

² I. e. by other people who visit your tombs, not by me who am dead (SETHE).

³ GUNN points out that occurs sporadically instead of e. g. RANSOM, *Stela of Menthu-weser*, line 13, where *p3w*, not *p3mw*, is the correct reading, and he draws attention to the remark of MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, i, p. 3, note 2.

⁴ SETHE's restoration. I proposed *ntr '3*, but, as he points out, in the northern inscription that combination is written . A note on my original tracing states that the broken and weatherworn sign after looks like a bird's claw, that is badly cut, and that the sculptor's work just here seems bad and careless.

⁵ GUNN suggests that *n* here may possibly mean "while" rather than "because," as I rendered it.

⁶ See BLACKMAN, *The House of the Morning*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, v, pp. 148—165.

⁷ See the articles *Ethics and Morality* (Egyptian), § 11, and *Personification* (Egyptian) §§ 4, 7, 9 (c) (2), *Righteousness* (Egyptian), § 13 with footnote 10, in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁸ Reading — [] ~~~~] (See below, p. 40, note 3). What looks like part of a damaged sign on the right edge of the break below is, SETHE thinks, only an accidental scratch.

signated, *Bāsha, He who is in the Chamber, Herdsman of Nekhen, Chief Nekhebite, Sem-priest, Controller of Every Kilt, Unique Personality,¹ Ruler of the Hathor-Pillar,² Controller of the Black Vase (?),³ Unique Companion, Keeper of the Diadem, Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, Pepi'onkh the Middle.*

THE MAIN ROOM, C.

(Pls. VII–XVII, and XXII–XXV)

The main room of the tomb-chapel, which is somewhat irregularly shaped, is from 10·20 to 9·70 metres long, 4·20 to 5·10 metres wide, and 2·20 to 2·55 metres high. The ceiling is uneven and shews chisel-marks everywhere. The rock out of which the room is excavated contains a bad fault, which cuts through the turn in the west wall beside the entrance to the statue-house (see Pls. I and XXIII, 4), and the middle of the south wall, and has created a wide fissure in the roof and floor. The deficiency in the south and the west walls was made good with masonry, though apparently it was not thought necessary to patch up the roof and floor in this manner. Probably there did not seem to be any immediate danger of the red earth and gravel which filled the fault giving way, a mishap that no doubt only occurred after some lapse of time. In this connection it might be noted that the fault extends through the northern burial-chamber, but the earth and gravel filling, which forms a considerable part of the roof of this chamber, has not even yet fallen in.

Two deep shafts have been sunk in the floor of room C (for the measurements see

below pp. 46, 50), one at the north and the other at the south end, admitting respectively to the burial-chamber of Pepi'onkh and to that of his wife Hetayāh. Close to the eastern edge of the northern pit (see Pl. I) is an appliance for fastening down a sacrificial ox, cut out of the rock (see Pl. XXV, 1) and in the shape of the letter I. In the middle of the part corresponding to the upright stroke in that letter a hole has been drilled, through which, doubtless, was passed the rope attached to the victim. Beside it is a basin, also cut out of the rock, to catch the blood.⁴

All the walls of room C are covered with painted reliefs, the brilliance of which was greatly enhanced by the dark slate-grey to indigo background, as is yet to be seen on the south half of the west wall, where the colours are still well preserved (see Pls. XXII, 2, XXIII, 1, and XXIV). Be it here noted that the reliefs on this particular part of the west wall are executed entirely in plaster, as are all those on the south wall, except where the blocks of masonry have been inserted to fill up the fault.

As is usually the case with the productions of the Sixth-Dynasty provincial craftsmen, the technique of these reliefs is somewhat crude. The best work is to be found on the east, and much damaged south, wall.

Below the reliefs is a black dado, with a border at the top of dark red and pale yellow bands outlined in black.⁵

EAST WALL: NORTH OF ENTRANCE: SOUTH END.

(Pl. VII)

The relief occupying the south end of this half of the east wall is the usual stock re-

¹ Cf. *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii, p. 2, and BLACKMAN, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iii, p. 242 with note 1.

² See DAVIES, *Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrāwi*, i, p. 8, ii, p. 2; SETHE, *Altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, 1096 b.

³ See DAVIES, *op. cit.*, i, p. 8.

⁴ See BLACKMAN, *A Study of the Liturgy celebrated in the Temple of the Aton at El-Amarna*, in *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, p. 506.

⁵ Cf. *Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii, p. 11.

presentation of the owner of the tomb-chapel standing in a boat and spearing fish. *The Unique Companion, He who is over the Mysteries of the House of the Morning*,¹ *Superintendent of the Royal Domain* (gs-pr), *First under the King, Pepi'onkh the Middle*, is accompanied by *his wife, his beloved, the Musician-Priestess of Hathor, Hetya'h, whose good name is Hetit*, who, be it observed, is drawing her lord's attention to the ichneumon, which is climbing up a papyrus-stem in order to seize upon one of the half-fledged birds in the nest above. A rather vigorous piece of work, unhappily much damaged by a later enlargement of the door-frame, is the hippopotamus munching the crocodile! A similar *motif*, but not quite so vigorously rendered, occurs in the *mastabeh* of Ti.² The background to the southern half of this scene is formed by the usual conventionalised papyrus-thicket with birds and a butterfly hovering above. Between the three rows of cup-like umbels and Pepi'onkh's harpoon is the label describing the action of the scene:—*Spearing very great fish.*

Above the stern of the boat, of course supposed to be actually on board, are three men, each holding an harpoon. They are *his son, First under the King, the Unique Companion, Hepi the Black; his son, the Lector, the Unique Companion, Hepi the Red; and the King's Gentleman* (špss nswt), *Senbi*. Evidently the two sons were raised to the rank of "Unique Companion" after the reliefs were carved, for in either case the signs composing the title are in paint only.

In the stern of the boat are three objects which deserve some attention. The long case, an example of which is to be seen in the

mastabeh of 'Enkhmiḥor at Saḳkareh,³ closely resembles the ordinary Egyptian quiver. Was it intended to hold those spare parts of the harpoon to which the blades were fixed, specimens of which are to be seen above the heads of the two above-mentioned sons and their companion? The outer edges of the case are bound with cord, coloured yellow, the twisted strands of which are indicated in black paint. The colouring of the case itself is a white band between two green bands. The second object, which is painted white with red outline and binding, is the well-known hieroglyphic sign  and was discussed in detail some years ago in an article of BORCHARDT's.⁴ The three cuts illustrating this article depict both this -shaped object and also the third object in the group under discussion. BORCHARDT apparently regards them both as representing one and the same thing, namely a reed mat,—the  being the mat rolled up and then bent over, and the other object the same kind of mat spread out and employed as a wind-screen. But it does seem to me that these two objects—they and the case described above all occur together in two reliefs in the *mastabeh* of Ti⁵—are to be differentiated. The third object does not at all look like a mat unrolled, but much more like some special kind of seat (clearly made of reeds) furnished with a back and sides. As a matter of fact it is shewn as being put to that very use by a boatman in fig. 4 of BORCHARDT's article, and it is placed, as in our relief, in the stern of the boat. Moreover, could a mat, large enough to be used as a wind-screen, be carried suspended from the

¹ See above p. 26, note 6.

² STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 113 = KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, p. 36 and see also p. 70; FECHHEIMER, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, Pl. 133.

³ CAPART, *Rue de tombeaux*, Pl. XXXVI.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 44, pp. 77—79.

⁵ STEINDORFF, *op. cit.* Pls. 115, 117; see also LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii, Pl. 77.

end of a herdsman's stick, as it is seen to be in fig. 5 of BORCHARDT's article? A relief in Pepi'onkh's tomb-chapel, adjacent to the one under discussion, seems to explain what the -shaped object really is. A man, who is plucking a waterfowl (see Pl. VIII, register 2), is sitting on what looks like the object in question, thus indicating that it is a kind of cushion, no doubt made of reeds. This cushion, if cushion it is, was of course placed on the bottom of the seat to add to the comfort of the occupant, though the artist, desiring to disclose what would in reality have been concealed by the near side of the seat, has, in accordance with the usual Egyptian convention, placed it above the seat. The relief over the doorway is a continuation of the same scene and also is a connecting link with the fowling scene on the other side of the entrance (see Pl. XVII and pp. 45 foll.). The man standing in the prow of the boat is *the King's Gentleman, Inspector of the Prophets, Piōpi*, and the first of the four men punting is *the King's Gentleman Khunukh*. The second punter's name is that of a king, now illegible, compounded with  , 'onkh.'¹

EAST WALL: NORTH OF ENTRANCE: MIDDLE AND
NORTH END.

(Pl. VIII)

In the reliefs which occupy this portion of the east wall, *the Bāsha, Unique Companion, Lector, First under the King, Scribe of the King's Records in the Presence, Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi'onkh the Middle*, who wears the priestly panther-skin vestment, and is accompanied by twelve attendants, is seen viewing the work of the field, the netting of waterfowl, the catching of very great fish.

Beginning at the top and reading from right to left the titles and names of the twelve

attendants are as follows:—1. *Superintendent of the Toilet*. 2. *Director of the Attendants*. 3. *Superintendent of the Toilet*. 4. *Superintendent of Physician of the Great House, Ni'enkhkhnum*. 5, 6. Titles and names destroyed. 7. *First under the King of the Great House, the Unique Companion*,² *Hepi the Black*. 8. *The King's Gentleman, his (i. e. the deceased's) brother, Inspector of the Prophets, Khunukh*. 9. *The King's Gentleman, Nefer*. 10. *First under the King, Superintendent of the Land-Scribes, Heneni*.³ 11. *First under the King, Judge and Nome-Administrator, Hepi*.⁴ 12. *The King's Gentleman, Hepi*.⁵

The operations of the fishers and fowlers are represented in four registers.

Register 1. Netting waterfowl.

A similar representation, shewing some of the fowlers lying on their backs as they pull the rope, occurs in the *mästabehs* of Ti and Neferseshemptah at Sakkāreh.⁶ The man with outstretched arm in the middle of the group cries out:—*Give (?) thyself to it, comrade, thy net is heavy!*⁷ The chief fowler, who stands behind the clump of reeds, signals to his assistants with outstretched arm and cries:—*Take (it), comrade, a catch comes to us!*⁸

² This title is in paint only.

³ Name and preceding title in paint only.

⁴ Name and two preceding titles in paint only.

⁵ Name in paint only.

⁶ STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 116; CAPART, *Rue de tombeaux*, Pls. XXXVI—XXXIX, LXXXV—LXXXVIII.

⁷ *Imy tw r-s nty hn'-i tw b3dt-k dnś sie.* An imperfect version of this inscription occurs in the *mästabeh* of Ti (STEINDORFF, *op. cit.* Pl. 116; see also ERMAN, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des alten Reiches* in *Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1918, Nr. 15, p. 37). For *dnś* we should expect *dnsty*, *b3dt* being fem. Perhaps the sculptor omitted the fem. termination owing to lack of space.

⁸ *My rk nty hn'-i tw bb r-n.* See ERMAN, *op. cit.* pp. 36 foll.

¹ See above p. 16, note 1.

Register 2. The dressing and cooking of waterfowl and the presentation of live birds to Pepi' onkh by some of his suite.

Similar representations of the cooking and dressing of waterfowl, as the sequel to a day's fowling, as also of booths with trussed fowl and joints of meat hanging across the roof from a rope, are to be seen in the above-mentioned *mästabehs* of Neferseshemtah and Ti.¹ Above the two men plucking birds are placed, along with a cage of live birds and articles of food and drink, the wooden pegs for fastening down the clap-net, and two coils of rope.² Attention has already been drawn to the \mathbb{X} -shaped object on which one of these two men is sitting. The man in the booth who is adding a trussed duck to the already long array of birds and joints of meat hanging from the roof, is the *Caterer Bakek*.

Of the retainers who present Pepi' onkh with live waterfowl, only the two foremost have titles and names attached to them, these being the *Lector*, *Inspector of Draughtsmen*, *Kamthenent*, and the *Physician of the Great House*, *Inspector of Physicians*, *Ni'enkhkhnum*.

Register 3. Netting waterfowl.

Above the line of peasants pulling the rope is written what is evidently intended for the utterance of the director of operations, the *First under the King*, the *Scribe*³ , who stands nearest the clump of reeds:—*O lad, my comrade, cover yourselves (sic). Thy net is emptying.*⁴

¹ CAPART, *op. cit.* Pls. LXXXV, LXXXVII; STEINDORFF, *op. cit.* Pl. 117; cf. *The Egyptian Expedition 1918—1920*, Part II of the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, December, MCMXX, p. 20, fig. 10.

² Cf. CAPART, *op. cit.* Pls. XXXVI, foll.

³ Almost obliterated titles in paint only; name disappeared.

⁴ *I hñw nty hn'-l hb̄ tn iw i3dt-k wšty.*

Register 4. Fishermen dragging their net to land.

Above the group of men hauling the rope to the right of the *Superintendent of the Fishermen*, *First under the King of the Great House*, the *Nome-Scribe*⁵ , is written their exhortation to one another—*Draw it in, comrade, it is heavily laden!*⁶ Similarly above the group to the left of that functionary we read:—*It comes! They have landed this goodly catch!*⁷

NORTH WALL.

(Pls. IX and X)

This wall is occupied by one continuous scene. To Pepi' onkh and his wife, who are sitting at meat and being entertained as they eat and drink by musicians—while nearby two members of the household play at draughts—an array of retainers, consisting of nome-officials, and officers of the estate, as well as companies of peasant-serfs, bring food-offerings of all descriptions.

Above Pepi' onkh's head is written:—*The Bäsha, Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Royal Domain*,⁸ *First [under] the King, Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi' onkh the Middle*. Behind him is a small figure, roughly sketched in black paint, and labelled *the Judge, Superintendent of the Scribes*,⁹ *Neferher*. Beneath Pepi' onkh's chair crouches a hound with a piece of meat in its mouth. Its name, which was in paint only, has entirely disappeared except for a trace of the sign $\sim\sim\sim$. Above the wife are her name and titles:—*Prophetess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, King's Acquaintance, his wife, his beloved, the Musician-Priestess of*

⁵ Last two titles in paint only; name disappeared.

⁶ *In sy r-k nty hn'-i i(w).s wdnty.*

⁷ *Iw-s in-n-sn mn hb̄ nfr.*

⁸ See above, p. 23, note 2.

⁹ Certainly so, according to SETHE.

Hathor, Hetya'ḥ, whose good name is Hetit.
Above the table between the pair are the usual directions for the celebration of the funerary banquet, the so-called "List of offerings." Beneath Hetya'ḥ's chair three attendants are very roughly drawn in red paint. To the foremost just the name *Hepi* is attached. The central figure is the *Caterer, Sefekhnefer*. The writing above the head of the hindermost is obliterated.

Registers 1 and 2.

An array of various kinds of food- and drink-offerings without any texts.

Register 3.

The titles and names of the figures of offerers etc. in this register, and the texts descriptive of various groups of persons, are as follows. 1. *Her* (i. e. Hetya'h's) brother, the *Lector*, *Keri*, who is reciting from a book. 2. *The Lector*, *Kamthenent*, who leads a young ox.¹ 3, 4. *The Steward Nedemit* and *the King's Gentleman*, *Pepisonb*,² bringing a young oryx. 5. A man, name and title destroyed, driving an oryx. Above figures 3 to 5 is written:—*Bringing small cattle . . . [Pepi]-onkh³ the Middle*. 6. *The Physician of the Great House*, the *Steward*, *Ni'enkhkhnum*.⁴ 7. Name illegible except for final , *k*. 8. *The King's Gentleman*, *Hepi*. 9. *The King's Gentleman*, *Thia . . iy*.⁵ 10. *Idy*. 11. *The Superintendent of the Toilet* (imy-r: , *Thema* (?).⁴ 12. *The Steward*, *Nikhnemhotpe*. Above figures 6 to 12 is written:—*Bringing along every young thing, fetched from his 'ezbehs, from his villages, of Lower and Upper Egypt, by the ka-servants*. 13, 14. Two butchers cutting

¹ *Rn iwst* (sic). The fem. ending *t* is probably a mistake for the sculptor, for the animal is surely a male.

² Name and title in white paint.

³ According to my note book traces of the signs were still visible below the cartouche in 1913.

⁴ All in white paint.

5  [?]. Title and name in white paint.

up an ox. The one on the right, *the Caterer* (hrp [sh]) , says to his companion, *the Steward, the Caterer, Wadnefer*:—*Give a good heave, comrade!*⁶

Register 4.

1, 2, 3. A male flautist and two female harpists. For a large-scale drawing of the two latter see Pl. X. The flautist, who is *piping very well*, is *the King's Gentleman, Emsheth*.⁷ The two harpists are *his daughter, his beloved, Peshernefert*, and *his daughter, his beloved, Mertit*. Snatches of the songs they sing as they strike the harp-strings are written in front of them, the words assigned to Peshernefert being, *The Gold(-god) appears gloriously in the great portal (of the sky)*,⁸ and to Mertit, *Thy (i. e. Hathor's) shmt is extolled by Horus (as ihy)*.⁹ 4, 5. Two men, *the Steward, Emrōri* and *the King's Gentleman, Khunrē* playing draughts.¹⁰ Emrōri says to his opponent:—. *a good thing!*¹¹

⁶ See ERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁷ For the article of apparel called *st*, the main element in this compound, see SETHE, *Altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, §§ 1089b, 1285c, 1373b, 1507a, 1555a. The  is probably to be read *imy*, as seems to be the case in SETHE, *op. cit.* § 1285c. Judging from the determin. in several of the above-mentioned passages, *st* was a name for the fillet with the wide bow and long streamers that so often adorns the heads of Old and Middle Kingdom notables, see e. g. PL VII.

⁸ *H* *nwb m rwrt wrt.*

⁹ *K3 shmt in Hr.* This is how SETHE renders the passage. For the use of *in* to express the logical subject of *k3*, he refers to *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 57, p. 21 (19). The meaning of *shmt* here is quite obscure. SETHE suggests that it possibly means "crown" *i. e.* is for *shmyt* (see ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 169). The rendering which I proposed, and which SETHE does not think possible, was:—"Thy sistrum-player is tall," saith Horus." For *shmt* = "sistrum-player," see ERMAN-GRAPOW, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁰ For other Old Kingdom representations of the game of draughts see KLEBS, *op. cit.*, p. 113, and to the list there given add BLACKMAN, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vi, p. 207 with Pl. XX.

¹¹ is *hn nfr*. As SETHE points out, *is* is the enclitic particle, and accordingly some word or words must have

My heart (?) . . .¹ I let you see it (the piece) taken,² to which Khunre replies:—You say this too hastily (or wrongly). The board is mine.³ 6. *The First under the King, his (Pepi' onkh's) brother, Ptahshepses.⁴* 7. *The King's Gentleman, his brother, Ni'enkhpiopi the Black.* 8. *The King's Gentleman, his brother, Khufnukh.* 9. *The First under the King, his brother Hapi.* 10. *The Steward, Ptahshepses.* 11. *The Inspector of Physicians, Ni'enkhkhnum.* 12. *The Steward, Khunes.⁵* 13. *The Seneschal (śmśw-pr), Sesnefer.* Above the heads of figures 6-13 is written:—*The Serfs of the Estate come with⁶ every young thing, every good thing.* 14, 15, 16. The three butchers each bear the title *Caterer*, and are named respectively *Irnes⁷*, *Iri*, and *Sefekhnefer*. One of them, probably *Iri*, is represented as saying: *Get to work!⁸ Behold the lector [is coming to] perform (his) task.*

Register 5.

The vertical line of text at the left end of this register, *Presenting choice viands*, applies to the action of the whole row of figures, whose titles and names are as follows:—1. *First under*

dropped out in front of it through the carelessness or ignorance of the sculptor.

¹ SETHE says he can make nothing of

² *dt-i m3-k itt-s*, or else, so SETHE suggests, *dt-i m3-k it-i sy*, "I cause you to see that I take it."⁹

³ *Dd-k m-s3n n-nk snt*. The rendering of *m-s3n* as "too hastily" or "wrongly" is a suggestion of SETHE's. For *n-nk* "I have" see SETHE, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 54, pp. 40 foll. The sculptor had carved "board"; the painter, however, has omitted to paint the but has wrongly painted that sign over .

⁴ The titles^{*} and names of figures 6—10 and 12—15 are in white paint.

⁵ Probably a mistake for *Khunes*, a well-known Old Kingdom name (see HOFFMANN, *Theophoren Personennamen*, p. 42).

⁶ Reading *hn'* the painter having wrongly changed to .

⁷ For this name see MURRAY, *Index*, Pl. II, col. 3.

⁸ See ERMAN, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, p. 9.

the King of the Great House, Unique [Companion],¹⁰ Hepi the Black. 2. *First under the King of the Great House, Unique Companion,¹¹ Hepi the Red.* 3. *First under the King, Superintendent of Land, his brother Sebekhotpe.* 4. *First under the King, [his] brother¹², Ptahshepses.* 5. *Judge and Nome-Administrator of the Great House, his brother, Sebekhotpe.* 6. *The Lector, his brother(?),¹³ Physician of the Great House, Ni'enkhkhnum.* 7. *The King's Gentleman, Piopi.* 8. *The King's Gentleman, his brother, Khunukh.* 9. *The King's Gentleman, the Steward, Hekni.* 10. *The King's Gentleman, the Steward, Kisemsaf.* 11. *The King's Gentleman, the Steward,¹⁴* 12. *The King's Gentleman, the Steward, Inspector of the Ka-Servants, Superintendent of the Toilet, Khunukh.¹⁵* 13. *The King's Gentleman, the Steward, Idy.* 14. *The Superintendent of the Toilet, the Steward, Neferbetek.¹⁶* 15. *The Superintendent of the Toilet, Khnemhotpe.* 16. *The Steward, Kisuser.¹⁷* 17. *The Steward, Khui.¹⁸* 18. *The Steward, Khuti.¹⁹* 19. *The King's Gentleman, Companion of the House, Keri.²⁰* 20. *The Steward, Anup'enkhnef.²¹* 21. *The Superintendent of the King's Scribes, Sefekhnefer.²²* 22. *The Superintendent of the Garden, Fefi.²³* Above figures 16 to 22 is written:—*Bringing every young thing, all²⁴ water-fowl, by the Confratern-*

⁹ This title in paint only.

¹⁰ The signs and were omitted by the sculptor and there is no trace of this omission having been rectified by the painter.

¹¹ According to my notebook the *f* of *sn-f* is faintly moulded, but not painted. There are no traces discernible of the sign .

¹² Name intentionally obliterated.

¹³ Name and last two titles in black paint. should be inserted under the final in the name.

¹⁴ Last title and name in white paint only.

¹⁵ Title and name in white paint only.

¹⁶ Titles and name in white paint only.

¹⁷ The painter has turned the sign "all" into "thy."

ity of thy Estate.¹ 23—25. Above the heads of the Caterer *Thefi* and the Caterer *Iri*, who are dismembering an ox, are written the words addressed to them by the King's Gentleman, *Khuti*:—*Give of the heart, flesh of the forepart!*²

WEST WALL: NORTH OF THE FAÇADE-STELA:
(Pls. IX and XXVI, 1)

The narrow space between the façade-stela and the north wall is occupied by representations, in six rows, of jars containing the usual seven varieties of unguent, viz. *festival-unguent*, the unguents designated *hknw*, *šft*, *nhnm*, and *twwt*, and *forehead-unguent*³ of cedar, and *forehead-unguent of Libya*.

THE FAÇADE-STELA.

(Pls. XI and XXVI, 1)

The façade-stela, which is 2·65 metres high, from the floor to the top of the cornice, and about 1 metre 60 cm. wide, is painted to imitate red granite, the colours of the stripes on the cornice, beginning from the south end, being in the order blue, green, blue, red, blue, green, etc. In front of the stela is a platform which extends as far as the west edge of the adjacent burial-pit (see Pl. 1). The two horizontal lines of text at the top read:—*Grace granted by the King, grace granted by Anubis who is on his hill, a "coming up unto the voice"*⁴ *for him at the W³g-festival, the festival of Thōth, the festival of Sokar, the Opening of the Year, the First (Day) of the Year,—the Bāsha, Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, Pepi'onkh the Middle.*

¹ *Snw nw pr-k n dt*, for which see also *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, ii, Pl. 24, line 10.

² See ERMAN, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, p. 14.

³ See BLACKMAN, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vi, pp. 58—60.

⁴ See above, p. 23, note 1.

The figure of Pepi'onkh seated before a table is labelled:—*Unique Companion, Lector, Neferka*. In front of the table is a list of the offerings desired for the funerary repast, i. e. one thousand each of oxen, antelopes, gazelles, ibexes, young oryxes, ducks or geese of five varieties, loaves of bread, jars of beer, *psn*-cakes, strands of thread, and lengths of cloth. Below this scene and list is written in a single horizontal line:—*The Bāsha, Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, Pepi'onkh the Middle.*

The lower part of the stela is occupied by the sham door, with four vertical lines of text on either side of it. On the left we read:—(1) *Grace granted by the king, a "coming up unto the voice" for him at the W³g-festival, for Pepi'onkh the Middle.* (2) *Grace granted by Anubis, a "coming up unto the voice" for him at the festival of Thōth, the Opening of the Year, for Neferka.* (3) *Honoured by Osiris, the Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi'onkh the Middle.* (4) *Honoured by the great god, the Unique Companion, Neferka.* On the right:—(1) *Grace granted by the king, [a "coming up unto the voice" for] him on the First (Day) of the Year, for Pepi'onkh the Middle.* (2) *Grace granted by Anubis, a "coming up unto the voice" for him, at the festival of Sokar, for Neferka.* (3) *Honoured by Osiris, the Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi'onkh the Middle.* (4) *Honoured by the great god, the Unique Companion, Neferka.*

NORTHERN HALF OF WEST WALL: SOUTH OF FAÇADE-STELA.

(Pl. XII)

On this part of the west wall two men are depicted seated one on either side of a table, upon and around which are arranged the usual requisites of an Egyptian meal. The titles of the man on the south (left) side of the table, who is sniffing a small vase of perfume, are

much injured, but *Baron, Bāsha, Chief Justice, Vizier*, are still to be read. The two last titles only occur once again in this tomb-chapel, on the south wall, where they are assigned to Pepi'onkh (see Pl. XV, right end.) Accordingly, the figure above which they occur here must represent that same nobleman, a view that finds further support in the fact that the person squatting behind the great man's chair and designated [*his*] *eldest [son]*, *his¹ beloved, the Unique Companion, Superintendent (?) of [Superintendent] of the Prophets, Ni'enkhpiōpi the Black, Hepi the Black*,² is certainly Pepi'onkh's own son.³ The man seated on the north (right) side of the table is entitled *the Baron, Bāsha, Superintendent of the Royal Domain, First under the King, Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets*, the name being purposefully erased, though, according to my note-book, there were traces of  and the enclosing cartouche, and also of  all traces of  however, having entirely disappeared. Possibly that name was assigned to this figure by an error of the sculptor and was erased with the intention of substituting another name, perhaps that of Pepi'onkh's father, Sebekhotpe. Either the other name was never superimposed, or else the plaster has fallen away leaving no traces.

Above the table between the two banqueters are the usual directions for the celebration of the funerary liturgy, the so-called "List of Offerings," and also three figures of officiants engaged in carrying them out. They are said to be *performing a great beatification*,⁴ *what is asked in the way of offerings*. The kneeling man

¹ The sign  under *mry* has been accidentally omitted on the plate.

² This name is in black paint only.

³ See e. g. Pl. XIV, right half.

⁴ According to my note-book there are traces of  between the  and , omitted in the drawing.

is the *Steward, Neferbakt, the lustrator, the Physician of the Great House, Ni'enkhkhnum*, and the officiant with the book, the *Lector, Khunukh*.

Above the bitch crouching beneath Pepi'onkh's chair is written in white paint her name, which should perhaps be read *Nūhet*, i. e. "Sycamore-tree." Behind the chair of the seated figure on the right stands the *[Inspector]⁵ of the Prophets, the Steward, Ukhmer[en]khef*,⁶ the figure, name and titles being in paint only.

Bottom Register. A procession of offerers.

The titles and names of the offerers, who are said to be *bringing choice meats*, are as follows:—1. *The Lector, King's Gentleman, his brother, [Pep]i'onkh.* 2. *The King's Gentleman his brother, Khunukh.* 3. *The King's Gentleman, Fefi.* 4. *The Master of the Wharf (smšw whrt), Ptahshepses.* 5. *The Inspector of Physicians, Ni'enkhkhnum.* 6. *The Inspector of Prophets, Netri.* 7. *The Superintendent of the Toilet, Nedemib.* 8. *Heni.* 9. No name. 10. *The Prophet, Nebsu*, whose duty it doubtless was to test the purity of the intended victims.⁷ Above figures 8 to 10 is written:—*Bringing choice dainties, fetched by the ka-servants of the estate.* The three live animals led along are labelled *young gazelle, young oryx, and young ox.*

WALL ON NORTH SIDE OF ENTRANCE TO "STATUE-CHAMBER."

(Pls. XIII and XXIII, 4)

The reliefs on this portion of the west wall are of excellent quality, being carved on blocks

⁵ Cf. the upper of the two attendants standing behind Pepi'onkh inspecting the ploughing, on Pl. XIV.

⁶ According to my notebook the  between the  and  was still visible in 1913.

⁷ For other instances of the title see MURRAY, *Index*, Pl. XLI. For the word *whrt* see ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 39; STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 119 (SETHE).

⁸ See BLACKMAN, *A Study of the Liturgy celebrated in the Temple of the Aton at El-Amarna*, in *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, p. 526.

of masonry instead of on the actual limestone rock, but they are unfortunately somewhat weather-worn. Only the three bottom registers survive, these containing representations of the closely connected operations of brewing and baking.¹

Uppermost Register.

The half-liquid mash is being strained through a sieve into a large pan, and the beer thus obtained is being poured off, of course after it has stood a sufficient time, into smaller vessels from which it was taken for drinking.

Second Register.

At the left end a man is seen *beating clay for the jar*,² i. e. for sealing the beer-jars. Two men engage in conversation over a heap of dough or grain, and next to them are two women, of whom, judging from parallel representations in the *maṣṭabeh* of Ti,³ one is passing a quantity of mash or flour through a sieve, while the other seems to be pouring the contents of a bag or vessel into another receptacle. The sculptor of the Meir relief has almost certainly reversed the positions of the legends above the two women, as can be seen from the already mentioned representations in the *maṣṭabeh* of Ti, where the words *nkr*⁴ *bš*,

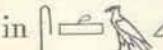
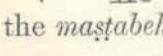
¹ For a full bibliography of these brewing and baking scenes, see KLEBS, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp. 90—94; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pp. 14 foll.

² *Kṛt* "jar" is wrongly written *kht*.

³ STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pls. 84—86.

⁴ According to SETHE  is to be read *nkr* (Copt. *noykep*), for which see PAP. EBERS, ix, 11, lxxvi, 21; CHAMPOLLION, *Notices descriptives*, ii, p. 381; WRESZINSKI, *Große Medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, xvii, 5. As a matter of fact, since receiving SETHE's letter, I have noticed that in NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, ii, Pl. VI = KLEBS, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, fig. 36, the action, designated  *nkr* here and in the *maṣṭabeh* of Ti, is there actually labelled  *nkr*.

"passing *bš*⁵ through a sieve," belong to the woman holding the circular object, and the words *šši ddw*⁶ to the women emptying the bag.

According to SETHE the sign  in (regularly written  *šši* in the *maṣṭabeh* of Ti),⁷ is a determinative, and represents a corn-rubber (Mahlstein). Accordingly he supposes that *šši* means "to knead" or the like. In the *maṣṭabeh* of Ti the woman, to whom the legend *šši ddw* is attached, is in every instance seated opposite a woman working a hand-mill, and so we may suppose that she is supplying her companion with a fresh quantity of grist.  is evidently some kind of grain, for, in a relief dating from the Fourth Dynasty, it appears (written  ) as the contents of a granary along with           <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for a granary" data-bbox="8660

bread, a method of baking which is fully described by Fräulein KLEBS on pp. 93 foll. of her admirable *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, to which reference has so often already been made. Next to him is a man placing a loaf or cake for baking on the top of that kind of oven described on p. 92 of the above-mentioned work. Such an oven consisted of a triangular basis formed by three flat stones, on top of which a fourth was laid, and on this upper stone the bread to be baked was placed, as on a girdle. There is an excellent example of this kind of oven in WIEDEMANN-PÖRTNER, *Aegyptische Grabreliefs aus der Großherzoglichen Altertümersammlung zu Karlsruhe*, Pl. IV, where the three underlying stones are seen to be resting on little clay cones, like those described in *Meir*, ii, p. 34 with note 4. In our relief we seem to have depicted a whole row of such "ovens," beside which sits a cook holding one hand before his face to protect his eyes from the heat and glare, and with the other no doubt (it is now destroyed) poking up the fire.¹

At the right end of this register, two men are depicted cooking in a pot set on a brazier, their action being designated *making a stir* (lit. *a storm-wind*). Below them are to be seen two other men engaged either in putting dough into the heated bread-moulds, or else in shaping it into cakes for baking on the "oven" described above. Above the man on the right is written:—*Kneading (?) "green bread"* (*tis t3-w3d*),² "green bread," *t3 w3d*, being evidently some particular kind of bread. The words above the man on the left are:—*Taste the salt.*

¹ See KLEBS, *op. cit.*, p. 91, fig. 73.

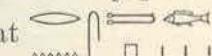
² For other occurrences of this legend see MOGENSEN, *La Mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg*, p. 34; BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re'*, p. 124. For the last reference I am indebted to SETHE.

WEST WALL: SOUTH OF ENTRANCE TO
"STATUE-CHAMBER."
(Pls. XIV and XXII-XXIV)

The reliefs on this part of the west wall are executed entirely in plaster and are, especially in point of colouring, the best preserved in the tomb-chapel. The scenes here depicted fall into two distinct groups, the northern being devoted to ploughing and pastoral episodes, the southern to harvesting. It should be noted that several of the peasants in both groups of scenes have beards and whiskers. In many cases also their names are written beside them in white paint.

The Scenes of Ploughing.

Clad in a panther-skin and leaning on a staff, the *Bāsha*, *Chief Lector, Unique Companion, Pepi onkh the Middle*, stands viewing the ploughing in his villages of Lower and Upper Egypt, the feeding (?) of the "leapers" of the stall (?) of (the pools or lakes called) the Old Man (Iw) (and) the Imt, (and) of the Ocean (w3d-w(r)).

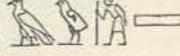
The latter part of this line of text is very puzzling. Professor SETHE suggests that  perhaps means the "feeding of the 'leapers'" rather than "the young leapers," as I rendered the words. I suggested that *stp* "leapers" was a designation of the goats and kids, which are depicted leaping in the top register, and Professor SETHE, who thinks that, in view of the determinative, "leaper" must be the name for some kind of fish (flying fish?), "can likewise see in that term only some playful allusion to the goats (and the calf?) who are leaping." On the other hand, as he says, "what follows (the mention of pools or lakes and the sea) agrees with the idea of fish but not with goats."

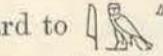
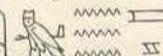
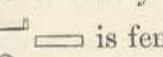
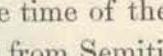
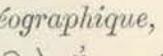
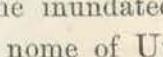
For *stp* "leap," "jump," see SETHE, *Altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, 947a, and for 

sl-pr, "stall," see *Urkunden*, i, p. 78, line 16. SETHE also refers me to LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii, 96.

The determinative of the name *bw* is formed as in the adjoining cut and not as on Plate XIV, where a short vertical line has been wrongly put in at the bottom right-hand corner. The signs in the lower part of the column are less well moulded than those higher up, and they are also somewhat de-

Determinative of *bw*

faced and discoloured, but the sign in question seems to have been painted *red* not blue. This may be due to carelessness on the part of the painter, for the sign, especially in view of that which determines both the associated words *Imt* and *W3d-w(r)*, and which is blue in either case, can only be a rather badly formed \square . No other example of a pool or lake named  seems to occur.

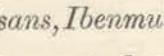
With regard to  *Imt*, I suggested to Professor SETHE very tentatively that it might possibly have some connection with the word  "sea," "great stretch of water," and he too thinks that this is just possible. The difficulty is, however, that our word  is feminine, whereas  is masculine and, moreover, does not occur till the time of the New Kingdom, being a loan-word from Semitic (= Hebr. *ם*). It might here be noted that according to BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 23,  (var. ) *Im*,—also masculine—is the name for the inundated land of the seventh (Diospolite) nome of Upper Egypt.

 is certainly to be read *W3d-w(r)* = "the great green (Ocean)," according to SETHE, who informs me that the final *r* was lost early and that to the best of his

belief examples of the writing  (cf.  for *Km-wr*, Athribis) are to be found already in texts of the Middle Kingdom.

In front of Pepi'onkh stands *his eldest son, his beloved, the Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets, [Hep]i¹ the Black*, and behind him, *the First under the King of the Great House, Inspector of the Prophets, the Steward, Ukhmer'enkhaf*, holding a roll of papyrus, and *his son, his beloved, the Unique Companion (and) Lector, Ni'enkhpiopi, whose good name is Hepi the Red*. This last-mentioned man's titles and names are written coarsely in black paint over an erasure.

Register 1. A pastoral scene.

A goat-herd squats on the ground, while *the Inspector of the Artisans, Ibenmut* ()², plays a pipe and the goats dance to the strains. In the midst of the gambolling goats a peasant, bearing the name of *Neferihy*, lops branch off a tree with an axe, to give the goats something to nibble.

Register 2. A ploughing and sowing scene (see Pl. XXIV).

Well worthy of notice is the cow scratching its nose with a hind-leg! The driver is named *Sethi'onkh*, the ploughman *Tefsnēwef*, and the sower apparently *Intef*, his title being illegible. The photograph (Pl. XXIV, 2), taken with a strong side light, shows some grains of corn falling from the sower's upraised hand, which I failed to observe when making my drawing, the faintly incised lines being very indistinct on the dark slate-coloured background.

¹ Traces of the \square were still visible in 1913.

² So the name is read by SETHE.

Register 3. Two teams ploughing.

The ploughman on the left is named *Hehi* and his driver *Sebkhenen*. The other ploughman and driver are named respectively *Neferibd* and *Iny*.

Register 4. A led team ploughing, followed by two cows prodded on by a herdsman.

The herdsman driving the two cows is called *Hotpi*. The ploughman and his driver are respectively named *Ibdi* and *Tef'ekhnef*. The man leading the team is unnamed.

Register 5. Yet another led team ploughing and followed by two undriven cows.

The man leading the ploughing oxen bears the name of *Nebi*, the driver and ploughman being called respectively *Idy* and *Hekni*.

*Register 6. An unnamed herdsman driving five cows and a somewhat obstreperous bull.**The Scenes of Harvesting.*

Pepi'onkh seated in an ebony carrying-chair, which has been set on the ground, watches the harvesting. We are put in mind of the ebony carrying-chair of Prince Heridif, a hero of one of the *Papyrus Westcar* tales, his chair also being "set down," in that case to enable him to stand up and address old *Dedi*.¹ A point worthy of notice is the curious contrivance, coloured blue with white and black edging, which looks like half an anklet, clipping a part of Pepi'onkh's skirt to his ankle. So far as my knowledge goes, this object is depicted nowhere else.

Pepi'onkh holds a reed-pen in his hand, with which, so it would appear, he is represented as writing the inscription in front of him:—*Viewing the reaping of barley (and) spelt, (and) the pulling of flax.*

Register 1. Flax-harvest.

The stalks of the standing crop, amid which the quail are running about, are painted green, the flowers being indicated by a band of blue at the top.

Register 2. Cutting the corn.

Again the quail are depicted as scuttling about, like our own partridges, amid the standing corn. Among the reapers walks the *King's Gentleman*, *Teti'onkh*, holding in one hand a couple of live waterfowl, and in the other a pot of beer suspended from a string and also the rope attached to a calf, which he is leading along. One of the reapers facetiously calls out to him:—*Beer for me! I'm cutting besha!* This is one of the tag-utterances of Old Kingdom harvest scenes, and ERMAN² thinks that some witticism is implied in the mention of the word "besha" (*bs*), which he holds to be a kind of fig.³ Behind *Teti'onkh* is the *King's Gentleman*, *Nenki*, who has plucked ears of corn and is rubbing them between his hands to extract the grain.

Register 3. Loading asses with great nets containing the cut corn.

Above the right hand group of donkeys is written *lifting*⁴ the barley and above the left hand group *lifting the spelt*. Facing Pepi'onkh in his carrying-chair is the *Nome-Scribe*, *Khusuukh*, holding out to him a long roll of papyrus, in which is doubtless recorded the number of sheaves loaded on to the asses' backs. Between the left-hand pair of asses and the scribe Khusuukh is a puzzling word  *sdt*. Professor SETHE thinks with me that it

² *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, p. 22.

³ For another view as to the nature of *bs* see above, p. 35, note 5.

⁴ *Sdtt* is probably a mis-spelling of *sdt*, which is used elsewhere in this connection (e. g. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii, 47a).

¹ ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, vii, 12—14.

may be the name for the net containing the sheaves on the donkey's back. "Or," he adds, "does it belong to the feminine word *bdt* 'spelt'?"

Register 4. Asses treading out the grain on the circular threshing-floor.

The man who is driving the beasts forward calls out to the other fellow:—*Drive them round!*¹

Register 5. The stacking of the trodden straw.

The bundles of trodden straw are being brought on donkey-back to be stacked, the rick being depicted at the north end of the register. Such ricks, with the curious projections at the top corners, appear in a good many Old Kingdom reliefs.² The trodden straw seems generally to have been heaped up close beside the threshing-floor by men with wooden forks, and the donkeys introduced here do not figure in this operation as represented elsewhere.

Pepi'onkh's Wife and Relations.

Beneath Pepi'onkh is a representation of his wife, *the King's Lady, King's Acquaintance, Prophetess of Hathor Mistress [of Cusae]. Hetya'h, whose good name is Hetit*, seated before a table of offerings. An attendant, *the Caterer, Sefekhnefer*, depicted in pygmy size, holds out to her a basin, no doubt for her to wash her hands before she begins to eat. Beside her chair is another attendant, *the Superintendent of*,³ holding in one hand

an indeterminate object, and in the other a vessel, above which is written "*ntyw*-perfume." A man in the fourth register of the harvesting scenes, the oft-recurring *Inspector of Physicians, Ni'enkhkhnum*, faces *Hetya'h*, and holds out for her acceptance in one hand a pair of water-fowl, while in the other he holds a rope attached to a calf, and also a cord, from which a jar of beer is suspended. Through the action of this figure *Hetya'h* is tacked on to the scenes of harvesting and is enabled to participate in them, while at the same time she partakes of a repast.

Behind Pepi'onkh and his lady are five rows of relations.

Row 1.

1. Their eldest son, *the Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets, Hapi the Black*, who is accompanied by 2, *his wife, his beloved, Tet*,⁴ 3. *his daughter (?)*, *the King's Acquaintance, Duftet*, and 4. *his son, Neferkai*.

Row 2.

1. Their second son *the Unique Companion, the Lector, Hapi the Red*. 2. *The King's Gentleman, Neferkai*. 3. *The King's Acquaintance, Hetit*.

Row 3.

1. [The 'Omdeh of] an 'Ezbeh, Unique Companion,⁵ 2. *The First under the King, Ukhhenen*. 3. *The King's Acquaintance, Hetit*.

Row 4.

1. *Pekhernefert*. 2. *The King's Gentleman, Pepi' onkh*. 3. *Hetit*.

¹ See ERMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 foll.

² See STEINORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pls. 125, 126; MURRAY, *Sakkara Mastabas*, i, Pl. XI; CAPEZ, *Rue de Tombants*, Pl. XXV.

³ Perhaps *Superintendent of the Hairdressers or Perfumers (SETHE)*.

⁴ There was no break in the plaster in 1913, but there

were no traces of any signs other than 

⁵ According to my note-book there were still traces of *hk3* in 1913; see also above, p. 8, note 2.

Row 5.

1. *His daughter, the King's Acquaintance, Mertit.*¹ 2. *The King's Gentleman, Pepi' onkh.*

SOUTH WALL: WEST END.
(Pl. XV).

On this part of the south wall Pepi' onkh, his father Sebkhotpe, and his mother Pekhernefert, are depicted sitting each before a table, on which are laid the usual conventionally represented slices of bread. The two smaller figures of the parents face the larger figure of their son. A company of sons, daughters, and other relatives sit, or rather squat, in their elders' presence, but apparently do not partake of any of the food.

Above Pepi' onkh is written:—*Baron, Bāsha, He who is in the Chamber, Herdsman [of Nekhen], Chief Justice, Vizier, Superintendent of the Scribes of the King's Records, Chief Lector, Scribe of the God's Book, Real Superintendent of Upper Egypt, Sem-Priest, (Controller) of Every [Kilt],⁴ First under the King in the House of the Great One,⁵ Superintendent of the Prophets, Pepi' onkh the Middle.*

Below this array of titles is a list of articles of food and other commodities required by the deceased, to the amount of 1000 of each item. Under Pepi' onkh's chair crouches his hound, much defaced, whose name, written in white paint, seems to be *Khekhef*.

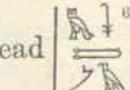
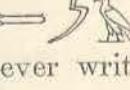
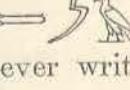
Above the father is written:—*His father, First under the King, Superintendent of the*

Prophets of Hathor, whose great name is Sebkhotpe. Honoured by the god, his good name being Hepi. The mother is designated:—His mother, the King's Acquaintance, Prophetess of Hathor, honoured by her Mistress (i. e. Hathor), Pekhernefert, whose good name is Bebi.

Attendant relatives: Row 1.

Reading from left to right the titles and names are as follows:—1—3. Men, names destroyed. 4. *Pepi' onkh.* 5. Man, name destroyed. 6. *The King's Acquaintance, Mertetefs.* 7. *His son, First under the King, Superintendent of Land, [Pepi' onkh].* 8. *First under the King, Sebkhotpe.* 9. *First under the King, Scribe of the Temple, Methsuma.* 10. *[Pepi' onkh].*

Professor SETHE sends me the following note

on the name Methsuma:—“I would read  ¹
i. e. either *Mt-św-m3* = ‘See (O Mother), he (a relative who has died) is new (renewed)’,—so says the father at the birth of the child; or *M-św-tm3* = ‘See, he is *tm3*’ (cf.   ). Against the combination  is the fact that  is never written with .

Row 2.

1. Woman. *The King's Acquaintance, Mer . . .*⁷
2. *The King's Gentleman, Thetu.* 3. *The King's Acquaintance, Bebi.* 4. *The King's Gentleman,* 5. *The King's Gentleman, Ima.* 6. *The King's Acquaintance, Hemi.* 7. *First under the King, Herdsman of the Thentet-cows, Hepi.* 8. *The King's Gentleman, Pepi' onkh.* 9. *The King's Gentleman, Nuberkis.* 10. *The King's Acquaintance, Mertetefs.* 11. *[His] daughter, Pekhernefert.* 12. Woman, name obliterated.

¹ The final *t* has been painted out.

² *Imy-r3 shw*  *nśwt.*

³ Reading                    ; see above, p. 26, note 8.

⁴ SETHE proposes reading here                , the sculptor having accidentally omitted .

⁵ Not in Miss MURRAY's list of Old Kingdom Titles.

⁶  frequently stands for  in names: cf.    .

⁷ Traces of  still visible in 1913.

SOUTH WALL: MIDDLE AND EAST END.
(Pl. XV)

The scene, unfortunately much damaged, occupying the middle and east end of the south wall, depicts the 'omdehs of the towns and 'ezbehs being brought before Pepi'onkh to have their accounts audited.¹

Pepi'onkh, who sits in a kiosque, is being presented by a bowing scribe with two papyrus rolls, in which, no doubt, have been entered the final statement of accounts and of dues that have been or are to be paid. In front of the great man are two rows of 'omdehs or headmen, who are prostrating themselves almost to the ground as they enter his presence, alternating with two rows of scribes, who are seated and making entries in their books.

Upper Row of Scribes.

The figures of the scribes in this row have entirely disappeared, except for part of a leg and foot at the west end.

Upper Row of 'Omdehs.

The figures of the 'omdehs have been much defaced, and their names and other labels, once doubtless attached to them, have been also destroyed, except at the west end of the row, where the name *Haishtef*² is still legible.

Lower Row of Scribes.

The scribe nearest to Pepi'onkh in the second row is the Judge, *Superintendent*³ of *Enkh[ef?]*. Part of the characteristic scribe's outfit (*hrt-*) is still recognisable

in front of him. The titles and name of the second scribe are destroyed. Those of the third are *Scribe of the King's Records, Judge, Superintendent of the Scribes, Kamthenent*.⁴ The fourth scribe is the *Judge, Superintendent*⁵ of the *Scribes*.

Lower Row of 'Omdehs.

Above the first on the left is written:⁶ *The Town-'Omdehs (hk;w-nwt), who have come from their town(s)*. The names and any other labels, that may once have been attached to the remaining figures in this row, have disappeared.

Immediately behind Pepi'onkh, within the kiosque, stands the *Steward, Neferbakt*. Behind Pepi'onkh, outside the kiosque, are his wife (titles and name destroyed), *his son, his beloved, the First under the King, Ukh[henen]*,⁷ and another son(?)⁸, the 'Omdeh of an 'Ezbeh, Unique Companion, [Pep]ji[^on[kh], Neferkai.

Behind this group of figures sits a company of Hetya'h's relatives, originally eight in number, arranged in pairs one above the other. Each person is supplied with a table of provisions. Figures 1 and 2 are completely destroyed. 3. A man whose names and titles are destroyed. 4. *Intef*. 5. *The King's Acquaintance, Prophetess of Hathor Mistress of Cusae, the brother of her (i. e. Hetya'h's) father, Meri*.⁹

⁴ The first three signs were still legible in 1913.

⁵ The top of the of *Imy-r* was still to be seen in 1913.

⁶ Restoration suggested by SETHE.

⁷ Cf. Pl. XIV, left end, 3rd row. The signs could still be read in 1913.

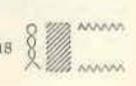
⁸ See p. 8 with notes 1 and 2.

⁹ I. e. Meri was the uncle of Hetya'h, the King's Acquaintance and Prophetess of Hathor. For this manner of stating relationships see SETHE, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 49, pp. 95—99.

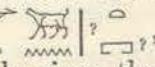
¹ Cf. STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 128.

² "He who is behind his possessions" i. e. protects them (SETHE).

³ *Imy-r*, now disappeared, was still visible in 1913.



6. *The King's Gentleman, User.* 7. *Demit, her son, First under the King, Khui.* 8. *The King's Acquaintance, Prophetess of Hathor (i.e. Hetya'h), her mother, Neferirus, whose good name is Fefi.*

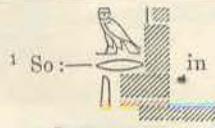
The whole of the bottom part of the scene is occupied by a number of officials, who are doubtless supposed to be taking part in the inquisition. Those immediately below Pepi' onkh's wife and son and the relatives—six in all—are standing; the remainder are arranged in two rows, half facing west (right) and half east (left). Of the six standing figures, the three hindmost, who are bending forward in an attitude of respect, have no titles or names attached to them. The other three bear each the otherwise unknown title , *imy-hbt hn...t*, the first of them having the name, apparently, of *Sebkn[akht]*.

Upper Row of Officials.

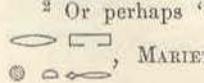
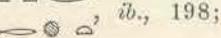
1. \rightarrow *The Superintendent of the Land-Scribes, Uiu.* 2—4. \rightarrow Names and titles destroyed.
5. \leftarrow *The King's Gentleman, Bak.*
6. \leftarrow *The Judge (?) and Scribe, Shepses.*
7. Destroyed.
8. \leftarrow *The Judge and Scribe, I.*.....
9. \leftarrow *The Steward (?)*.....¹
10. \leftarrow *The Subordinate of the Head of the Granary, Iry.*
11. \leftarrow *The Subordinate of the Head of the Granary, Neby.*
12. Entirely destroyed.

Lower Row of Officials.

1. \rightarrow Entirely destroyed except for a trace of the title *Superintendent of the Scribes (?)*
2. \rightarrow *Mereri.*
3. \rightarrow *The Superintendent of the Scribes (?)*..... *Enkhaf.*
4. \rightarrow *The Superintendent of the Land-Scribes,*rer.
5. \leftarrow *The Inspector of the Washermen (?)*², *Idu.*



¹ So:— in 1913.

² Or perhaps "Keepers of the things" (*iryw thwt*). Cf. , MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, 70; , *ib.*, 198;

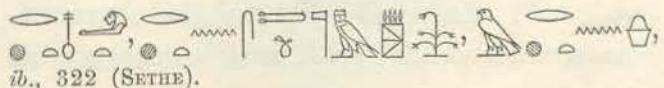
6. \leftarrow *The Inspector of the Washermen (?)*, *Intefidu.*
7. \leftarrow *The King's Gentleman, Henk[u].*
8. \leftarrow *The King's Gentleman, the Scribe, Hepi.*
9. \leftarrow *The Judge, Mouth of the Book, Isesi.*
- 10—12. Entirely destroyed.

EAST WALL: SOUTH OF ENTRANCE: MIDDLE AND SOUTH END.

(Pls. XVI, XXVI, 2)

On this portion of the east wall the *Bāsha, Unique Companion, Pepi' onkh the Middle*, is depicted presiding over the periodical levying and receiving of the impost on the herds of cattle and goats. He stands leaning on a staff, duly attended by *his son, his beloved, the King's Gentleman, the Phylarch, Khunukh*,³ and by four retainers, while the cattle, which are to be handed over to him in the way of impost, are driven past him.⁴

Almost the whole of the lower half of the scene is occupied by four vessels, two under full sail, and two being rowed. Shipping, be it observed, figures prominently in a similar scene in the tomb-chapel of *Dhuthotpe* at El-Bersheh,⁵ where that noble is clearly represented as having come by river to the place of inspection and reception of the imposts. But the little inscriptions attached to the boats in our scene at Meir, mentioning as they do *the Goodly West* and *the [western] cemetery-hill* (see below under *Register 3*), transfer the action to the life after death, *i.e.* though the relief represents Pepi' onkh as engaged in one of the duties attaching to his office of nomarch, yet these funerary allusions



³ This figure is a later addition and has been rather roughly cut in the plaster; see Pl. XXVI, 2.

the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, December, MCMXX, p. 18, fig. 8.

⁵ NEWBERRY, *El-Bersheh*, i, Pls. XVIII, XIX.

make it clear that it is the dead not the living Pepi'onkh who is thus occupied. Accordingly while the artist would have us think of his noble patron as still receiving the impost of cattle and goats, yet we are to suppose that he receives them not with a view to increasing the revenues of his earthly feudal domain or those of the central government,¹ but as an accession to his mortuary endowment, in order that he may be kept furnished throughout the ages with liberal supplies of meat. The scene, therefore, like that of the voyage to Abydos in the tomb-chapel of Amenemhet at Thebes,² is an ideal one and possesses, as thus depicted in the tomb-chapel, no objective reality.

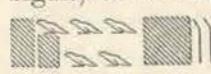
The action of the whole scene is thus described in a line of inscription in front of Pepi'onkh:—*Exaction of the impost of cattle and goats due from (ny) the middle nomes. Inspection of the oxen and goats.*

The four attendants of Pepi'onkh are 1. *The Physician of the Great House, [Ni]enkh[khnum]*, also bearing the appellation *Inspector of the Physicians, Memy*; 2. *the First under the King of the Great House, Treasurer of the God, Methsuma(?)*;³ 3. *the Inspector of Prophets Wa'(?)*;⁴ 4. *the Superintendent of Neferbakt.*⁵

Register 1. Cattle being driven into Pepi'onkh's presence.

Brandishing a stick, *the Herdsman, Gang-Superintendent, Heni*, drives along the droves of cattle that are advancing towards the monarch. He calls out to *the Gang-Superintendent, Herunefer*, who walks at the head of the

cattle and turns his herd round at the sound of his colleague's voice, *Make them come⁶ in good order (r nfr wsh)! See, the magistrate is waiting (lit. standing)! Go on!* Above the first group of cattle, beginning from the right (south) end, is written 760,000, above the second, 7000, above the single bull 700, and above the last group of cattle 77. Immediately in front of Pepi'onkh *the Superintendent of a Department of the Tenants of the Great House*,⁷ *Superintendent of Scribes, Sonb*, is squatting on the ground and making an entry in a papyrus document. The entry is written in front of him, above the document, and consists of a series of numerals. The relief is unfortunately damaged at this point and only the following signs, or traces of them, are now preserved:—

 The broken spaces allow for the restoration of two more signs for 100,000, and three more for 10,000, so that these numerals would tally with those given above the first group of cattle, namely 760,000. But no other signs are missing, so that the signs for a hundred do not correspond with those inscribed above the bull, and also there are no thousands, tens, or units at all. Perhaps we are to suppose that the scribe's entry is only in process of being made,—he is depicted actually as writing—and that he has not yet completed the hundreds, so naturally has not entered the tens and units. On the other hand the thousands should precede the hundreds. Perhaps the sculptor has omitted them owing to lack of space.

The name and title of the official who faces Herunefer, and holds out his hand in the attitude of addressing him, is illegible. He seems to be saying *I make a hundred*, i. e. he is

¹ See e. g. BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, i, § 522.

² See DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, pp. 46—48.

³ Possibly the same name is to be read here as that discussed on p. 40. Both titles and name are in paint only.

⁴ The name is possibly to be read  , Wa' (SETHE).

⁵ In paint only.

⁶ Or possibly "Make me come (*iwt-i*)," or "come home?" (SETHE).

⁷ For this title see above p. 3, note 2.

probably supposed to be collecting the cattle into groups of one hundred.

Register 2. Oxen and goats being driven into Pepi'onkh's presence.

A drover brings up the rear of a line of goats and oxen and whacks a he-goat that is attempting to cover a female. The two foremost oxen are led by a herdsman whose name, *Meni*, is written beside him in paint. He is evidently being given directions by the *Superintendent of the Sealing*, who stands facing him and gesticulating with his right hand. The two pairs of oxen have each the word *ox* (*iw*) written above them, and above the first goat is written *young goat*, and above the other goats *female*. Immediately in front of Pepi'onkh stands the *King's Gentleman, Inspector of the Prophets*, *Piopi*,—he is also designated *Pepisonb*—bowing humbly as he hands his noble master a long document. His reed-pen, be it observed, is stuck behind his ear!

Register 3. Two vessels sailing and two being rowed.

The sail of either of the two boats that are being rowed has been tightly furled round the yard. This and the mast have been unshipped and now extend the length of the boat, supported on two crutches.¹ These two vessels are proceeding down-stream in the opposite direction to the two under sail. Two sailors in the bow of the uppermost of these two boats (*i. e.* that furthest removed from the spectator) seem to be taking soundings with two poles.

In the foremost of the two vessels under sail a person, evidently of importance, is seen seated on a chair amidships.² To him a subordinate is presenting an indeterminate object

which may be a papyrus roll. A cabin aft contains ten to eleven men, some bearded. Two men forward pull at ropes, and right forward is a sailor on the look-out. Aft on the roof of the cabin, to which he is tethered, is an enormous pet-ape of Pepi'onkh's, coloured green and much damaged, while squatting at the extreme edge of the roof, facing the ape, a sailor holds the main sheet.³ The figure of the sailor has suffered considerably since 1913, when it was almost intact. But even then the plaster, in which the reliefs on this part of the wall are for the most part executed, was somewhat fragile, whereas now it crumbles almost at a touch.

Amidships in the hindermost of the vessels under sail there is also a personage of importance, who stands leaning on a staff.⁴ The label, *King's Gentleman, Mesh*, belongs either to him or to the man who is seated behind on the roof of the cabin and is drinking from a pot of beer. The vessel is steered apparently by only one steering-oar, worked by a single sailor who stands aft of the cabin. As in the sister vessel the main sheet is held by a sailor who squats on the cabin roof. Forward are six men sitting on the deck, and also a look-out, who is giving directions to the sailor who holds the main sheet, or to the steersman. It is his utterance, perhaps, that is written above the top of the sail and behind the ship:—*To starboard (would we go), [to]⁵ the Goodly West, to the [western] cemetery-hill! That is the favour (we ask) for Hathor's sake.*⁶ The words behind

¹ For an ape and sailor in similar juxtaposition on the roof of the cabin, see WRESZINSKI, *loc. cit.*

² See *ibid.*

⁵ The photograph taken in 1913 shews traces of  below the  of *imy-wrt*.

⁶ Cf. ERMAN, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, pp. 54—57, for the utterances in general of sailors in these shipping scenes, and pp. 55, 56 for the phrase *tp-nfr pw n H̄t̄r* in particular. See also BOREUX, *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*, pp. 43—56.

¹ Cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii, 103b.

² Cf. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Pl. 410.

the ship have now disappeared entirely, except the name of Hathor, but, as is shewn by the photographs taken in 1913, and the entry in my note-book, the words  *It is the favour for Hathor*, were still legible in that year. There were also, so it seemed to me, still traces of a sign, which I took to be  above , its base being slightly lower than the base of the same sign which forms the determinative of the adjacent word *smyt*. Professor SETHE says that what I saw there must have been the remains of the signs  "western," which could not have been omitted, being the necessary complement of *smyt*.

Professor SETHE has suggested to me that the situation is as follows: The ship under sail, which is making for the west, desires the boats which are being rowed to get out of the way. The steersmen¹ of the upper boat, therefore, very obligingly call out, *Aye, aye!*² *The starboard side belongs to the ship under sail!*³ The steersmen of the lower boat are no less good natured. *Aye, aye!* they ejaculate, *The steering-oar is well directed,*⁴ *my comrade!*

Above the closely following sister ship there is also a short text, of which the beginning is destroyed, the surviving words being:—
..... *the conductors to the Goodly West.*⁵ These inscriptions, as already pointed out,

transfer the action of the scene to the life after death, *i.e.* it is in his posthumous existence that Pepi'onkh is represented as receiving the impost of cattle, thereby being perpetually furnished with supplies of meat in the hereafter.

The animal head, in which both bow and stern of the right-hand sailing vessel terminate, is a common feature of Old Kingdom ships.⁶

EAST WALL: SOUTH OF ENTRANCE: NORTH END.
(Pl. XVII)

We have here a fowling scene of the ordinary conventional type. Standing in his boat, *the Unique Companion, Superintendent of the Prophets of Hathor, Pepi'onkh the Middle*, is about to hurl his throw-stick at one of the numerous waterfowl fluttering above and around the papyrus-thicket growing down to the water's edge. In his left hand the noble sportsman holds the usual bunch of birds, which, so it is generally maintained, were supposed to serve as decoys. The usual ichneumon has climbed up a papyrus-stem to rob a nest, and the excited mother hovers distractedly above. Pepi'onkh's wife, *the King's Acquaintance, Prophetess of Hathor, Hety'ah*, holds a lotus flower in either hand and inhales the delicate scent of one of them. Standing in the prow of the boat, *the Scribe of the House of the God's Book of the Great House, Kamthenent*, holds up three live birds, which have been brought down by his noble master's well-aimed weapon. In the stern lie examples of the case and cushion (?) already discussed on pp. 28 foll., and also a fly-whisk, a very necessary article of equipment in these no doubt mosquito-infested swamps.

¹ Behind the right-hand steersman is written his name  Ukhemhet.

² Lit. "I am doing (so)."

³ Lit. "in the wind."   means "under sail," "im Segeln," as   means "being rowed," "im Rudern" (Totb.).

⁴ The stroke | after *sb3* must be the determinative of that word (the teacher's stick?), for  (as vocative) always terminates a speech. | can only be the ending of the pseudopart., 3 masc. sing. (SETHE).

⁵ Or perhaps, so SETHE suggests, "It is who conducts men to the Goodly West."

⁶ See KLEBS, *op. cit.*, p. 105; STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 76; LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, ii, Pls. 22d, 24, 28.

Besides Kamthenent, nine persons are depicted as being in attendance on Pepi'onkh. They are:—1. *The Physician of the Great House, [Ni]’enkhkhnum*,¹ also designated *Inspector of the Physicians, Memy*. 2. *Mesheth*, also named *Netri*. 3. *The Inspector of the Prophets, Ukhemsaf*. 4. *The Superintendent of the Toilet, Nedemib*, who holds three dogs in leash and also a pet monkey. 5. No name or titles. 6. *The Superintendent of the Toilet, Khnemhotpe*. 7. Pepi'onkh's son, *the First under the King of the Great House, Hepi the Black*. 8. Another son, *the Judge and Nome-Administrator, Hepi the Red*. 9. *The King's Gentleman, Khunukh the Eldest*.

THE NORTHERN SHAFT AND BURIAL-CHAMBER.

(Pls. II, XVIII, 3, XIX, 2, XX, 1—6 and 9—18, XXI, 2 and XXIII, 3)

The shaft, the mouth of which measures 145 cm. either way, is 9·50 metres deep. At the bottom, on the west side, lies the burial chamber which was assigned to Pepi'onkh and has been very irregularly excavated, as can be seen from the plan and section on Pl. II, where the measurements are sufficiently indicated. In the floor of the chamber a receptacle measuring 240 × 105 × 50 cm. has been cut out, evidently meant to hold the canopic box, wooden models, and the like.² On the west side of the chamber is a recess, in the floor of which has been hollowed out, to the depth of about 90 cms., a receptacle for the great wooden sarcophagus containing Pepi'onkh's body. The two ends and west side of this recess are decorated with roughly executed, but brilliantly coloured, paintings in a remarkably good state of preservation. Below

the paintings is a black dado with a red and yellow border at the top (see Pl. XXIII, 3). Along the top and down the sides of the paintings on each wall runs the usual border of coloured oblongs, which are divided one from another by a white between two black lines. In the north west and south west corners, separating one border from the other, is the usual band of what Mr. N. DE G. DAVIES calls the leopard-tail pattern. This is well shewn in the photograph, just referred to, on Pl. XXIII.

The subjects of the paintings in this and in the southern burial-chamber are more or less identical. On the north wall of the recess, in either case, is an array of food- and drink-offerings. At either end of the west wall is the usual house- or palace-façade, and in the middle are depicted a number of ornaments, or boxes containing such ornaments, and packages of various kinds of cloth. On the south wall is a row of granaries with their contents. It seems to have been a common custom at the end of the Old Kingdom to decorate the burial-chamber in this or a very similar manner.³

The ceiling of the chamber consists largely of the red silt which fills the flaw in the rock, and, all the time I was copying the paintings, little bits kept on dropping down in an alarming way. I must confess that it was with a feeling of relief that I left the chamber, and was hauled up the shaft, for the last time!

NORTH WALL OF RECESS.

(Pl. XXI, 2)

As already stated, the decoration on this wall consists of an array of food- and drink-offerings, without any accompanying text or texts.

¹ The *mm* has been omitted by the sculptor.

² Cf. a similar receptacle in the floor of the combined tomb-chapel of Pepi'onkh the Youngest and Sebkhotpe (BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, pp. 14 foll.).

³ See, e. g., PETRIE, *Dendereh*, Pl. III, p. 6; MASPERO, *Trois années de fouilles*, Pls. I—VII, pp. 194—207.

WEST WALL OF RECESS.
(Pl. XIX, 2)

At either end of this wall, as already stated, is a representation of the usual house- or palace-façade.¹ Along the top of the southern half of the wall is the ordinary *htp dī nswt* prayer: —*Grace granted by the king and by Anubis, who is on his hill, who is in Ut, the lord of the high land*,² (for) the Superintendent of the Prophets, *Heny*. In the middle of the wall, between the aforesaid façades, arranged in three rows, are various articles in the way of ornaments, clothing, and furniture, required by the deceased.

Row 1. A box, three bead-collars on a stand, a collar with a long pectoral attached to it.

Rows 2, 3. Six packages of various cloths and a head-rest.

Each package has the name of some special kind of cloth written above it. Reading from right to left³ the names are as follows:—
1. *P[skt]*-cloth. *Pskt* is doubtless to be restored here. The word which is written  (DARESSY, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XVI, p. 207),  (DÉVAUD, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 49, p. 114),   or   MASPERO, *Trois années de fouilles*, Pl. II, VII, and pp. 200, 201, 204), means "fine linen" according to ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 52.
2. *Hstyw*-cloth (See DÉVAUD, *op. cit.*, p. 114, with note 2; MASPERO, *op. cit.*, Pls. II, VII, and pp. 201, 204; DARESSY, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 210).
3. I proposed to read the third name as *śist*. This cloth-name is elsewhere written 

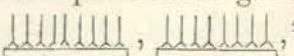
  (ERMAN-GRAPOW, p. 153), and also    (STEINDORFF, *Grab des Mentuhotep*, p. 21; LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, ii, p. 167). The verb *śis* "to recognise" is written    (ERMAN-GRAPOW, p. 153), and from it, I suggested, the writing  in our form of the cloth-name, had been half-playfully borrowed,—a similar writing of the name apparently also occurring in PETRIE, *Medium*, Pl. XIII, *viz.*  the initial alphabetic sign  and the final  being omitted. But, according to Professor SETHE,  is only used as the sign for "eating" in the Old Kingdom, not for "speaking," let alone "thinking," "knowing," and the like. He would therefore read *śnmt*. If we were to read *śist*, the omission of , he points out, would be very extraordinary. 4. *Śm'yt-* (Upper Egyptian) cloth (MASPERO, *op. cit.*, Pls. II, VII, p. 201); often qualified by the addition of *nfrt* "good" (*op. cit.*, pp. 200, 204; DÉVAUD, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 foll.; PETRIE, *Medium*, Pl. XX; DARESSY, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 207; see also PEET, *Mayer Papyri A & B*, Pap. B, line 13). 5. *Hnt*-cloth (see MASPERO, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, pp. 201, 204; DARESSY, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 210); written *ḥntyw* (DÉVAUD, *op. cit.*, p. 113), and apparently *śhnt* (MASPERO, *op. cit.*, p. 200; DARESSY, *op. cit.*, p. 203). 6. '3 or '3w-cloth (see MASPERO, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII, pp. 200 foll.; DÉVAUD, *op. cit.*, p. 113; DARESSY, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 207, 210; PETRIE, *op. cit.*, Pls. XIII, XVI, XX; MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Pls. I, foll).

Under each cloth-name in every instance are written in hieratic, and in the following order, the numerals 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, and the signs              meaning that the lengths of that particular cloth differed in degrees of fineness, *i. e.* the threads of which the cloths were woven were of nine-, eight-, seven-, six-,

¹ See VAN GENNEP-JÉQUIER, *Le Tissage aux Cartons*, pp. 25—38.

² See EMBER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 51, p. 120 (99).

³ These labels and the accompanying numerals (see below) are reproduced on a larger scale on Pl. XX.

four-, five-, three-, two-, or one-, strand quality.¹ In hieroglyphic writing, of course, the nine- to five-strands-to-the-thread qualities are generally indicated by the signs , , etc.

The hieratic form of the signs , etc., as given here, is interesting. MÖLLER in his *Paläographie*, i, gives only one example (dating from the Middle Kingdom), and in that case the base consists of one, not, as in our examples, of two horizontal strokes, the two strokes representing two strips, or more probably two folds, of cloth, which are clearly indicated in the Fifth Dynasty example of the *hieroglyphic* form of the sign reproduced in MÖLLER's work.

At either end of the row of signs denoting the number of strands to the thread, there is yet another sign. That at the right end is one that constantly occurs in the same position in Old Kingdom enumerations of cloths, either simply in the form , or else in that of , or . Is it possibly to be read *snt* or *s3t*?² Professor SETHE thinks that in the lists of cloths ,  must denote the unit (the normal quality) with 10 strands, but the nine following qualities tenth parts of it. It is, he points out, as if one wrote:—  |  |  |  | etc. |  |  |

Only so is the descending series explicable. The sign at the left end is clearly that which appears in the form  or  in the Old Kingdom lists of cloths, and is to be read

¹ See GRIFFITH, ap. PETRIE, *Dendereh*, p. 45; MURRAY, *Saggara Mastabas*, i, p. 33, under items 14—16.

² See e. g., PETRIE, *Dendereh*, Pl. 111; LEPSIUS, *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, Pls. 6 foll. and 36. But see on the other hand PETRIE, *Medium*, Pl. XIII and MURRAY, *Saggara Mastabas*, i, Pls. I foll.

³ PETRIE, *Medium*, Pls. XIII, XX; MURRAY, *op. cit.*, Pls. I, foll.; *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, i, p. 99; WEILL, *Des monuments et de l'histoire des II^e et III^e dynasties égyptiennes*, p. 228.

⁴ SETHE, *Von Zahlen und Zahlwörtern bei den alten Ägyptern*, p. 2.

              <img alt="Hieroglyphic sign for cloth unit: a square with a row of 10 vertical strokes inside

HNT-CLOTH.

<i>Snt (?)</i>	9.	8.	7.	6.	5.
100,100 (?)	400.	600.	800.	800.	101,200.
4.	3.	2.	1.	<i>Ssf.</i>	
800.	1200.	1600.	80.	40,000.	

S-CLOTH.

<i>Snt (?)</i>	9.	8.	7.	6.	
120,000.	101,000.	80.	60,000.	80,000.	¹
5.	4.	3.	2.		
100,000.	140,500. ²	160,430.	200,000.		
	1.	<i>Ssf.</i>			
	400,000.	800,000.			

Between the lower left bale of cloths and the head-rest is written:—*Total 2,770,000.*³ In this addition the *ssf*-items do not seem to have been included. Without them the total number—so far as the numerals are preserved—amounts to 1,361,010. Accordingly the missing numbers under the heading *Pkt*-cloth would have to total 1,408,990, which seems rather a tall order! On the other hand, if the *ssf*-items are included, even without those missing figures the sum-total is over 3,000,000, about 300,000 too much!

SOUTH WALL.

(Pls. XVIII, 2, XX, 9—18)

A row of six granaries and five heaps of cereals.⁴ On each heap is written in hieratic the name of the commodity of which it consists. Beside the various heaps are also written in hieratic the names of foodstuffs such as dried fruits and the like, and above them yet more

¹ SETHE reads 60,000 + 500 (+ x?).² So SETHE.³ This form of the sign for a million is not given by MÖLLER. Moreover, as GRIFFITH and SETHE have remarked, this indubitable use of  as a word of definite numerical value is an important point.⁴ Cf. MASPERO, *op. cit.*, Pl. III; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii, Pl. 103; DARESSY, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XVI, pp. 208, 211.

such names in hieroglyphic. Each label, whether in hieratic or hieroglyphic, is accompanied by the sign for 100 enclosed in a rectangular frame. Reading from left to right the commodities listed in hieroglyphic are as follows:—
 1. White pop-corn, 100. 2. Green pop-corn,⁵ 100. 3. *Bb3t*,⁶ 100. 4. Cake of sycamore figs,⁷ 100. 5. *Dura*⁸-grain, 100.

The hieratic labels, reproduced on a large scale as figs 9—18 on Pl. XX, name the following commodities:—1. (9).⁹  Upper Egyptian barley,  2. (10).   Figs,  3. (11).  Lower Egyptian barley,  4. (12).  *Wns*,¹⁰ 5. (12). Raisins, (*sspt-i3rrt*), 6. (13). Spelt, 7. (14). Every sweet thing, 8. (15). Wheat (*stt*),¹² 9. (16). Dates, 10. (16). *b3*,¹³ 11. (17). green corn, 12. (18). The break is extensive (see photograph on Pl. XXIII), and there is room in it for

⁵ The *fellalim* still make pop-corn of both ripe and green corn.⁶ Some kind of grain or seed as the determinative shows. For a discussion as to the meaning of the word see MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 40; see also BISSING, *Mastaba des Gemnikai*, ii, p. 39.⁷ MURRAY, *loc. cit.*; BISSING, *loc. cit.*⁸ *Locc. citt.*⁹ The numeral in brackets is the number of the fig. on Pl. XX.¹⁰ Often named in medical prescriptions (see e. g. WRESZINSKI, *Der Londoner Medizinische Papyrus*, Nos. 28, 44, 207; see also GRIFFITH, *Kahun Papyri*, Text, p. 69 [XXVII, 21].¹¹ Or perhaps .¹² For this spelling see LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, ii, p. 42.¹³ Or *b3* (see LACAU, *op. cit.*, i, p. 177; ii, p. 13). According to ERMAN, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, p. 22, and ERMAN-GRAFOW, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 50, *b3* or *b3* is a kind of fig. But on the other hand see GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, p. 44 [XV, 66].¹⁴ So SETHE reads the group.

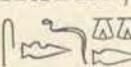
THE SOUTHERN SHAFT AND BURIAL-CHAMBER.
(Pls. XVIII, 1, 3, XIX, 1, XX, 7, 8, XXI, 1
and XXV, 2)

The shaft admitting to the southern burial-chamber, that of *Hetyaḥ*, is 8·5 metres deep, the opening at the top measuring 125 cm. either way. The very irregularly excavated burial-chamber, the dimensions of which are shewn on Pl. II, lies almost entirely south and west of the shaft, only the northern half of the east wall lying at all to the east of it. On the west side of this, as of the just-described northern, burial-chamber, there is a recess decorated with paintings (see Pl. XXV, 2), and in it the receptacle for the sarcophagus one metre deep. The northern half of the east wall of the chamber is also decorated, but there is no receptacle in the middle of the floor for the canopic box &c. as in the northern burial-chamber.

EAST WALL.

(Pl. XVIII, 1)

At the north end of the wall are painted three rows of offerings, above which is written in black hieroglyphs:—*Grace granted by the king (and) Anubis who is on his hill, (for) her who is honoured by the great god, Hetyaḥ*. The rest of the decoration on this wall consists of the usual so-called “List of Offerings” (also written in black hieroglyphs), which, as already pointed out on p. 34, is really a series of directions for the celebration of the funerary liturgy. This particular “List” includes two entries, the *Removal of the footprints* (跔) and the *Breaking of the red vessels* (打破), which, so far as I can ascertain, are to be found in no hitherto published “List.” They occur right at the end, just before the mention of the deceased lady for whom the “List” was drawn up—*she who is honoured by the great god, Hetyaḥ, the honoured one*. The *Removal*

of the footprints was almost the last act performed by the chief officiant at the celebration of the temple and funerary liturgy. After he had completed all the ceremonies connected with the presentation of the food- and drink-offerings, and just as he was leaving the sanctuary or tomb-chapel, the celebrant obliterated all traces of his own and his assistants footprints by sweeping the floor with a cloth or a besom made of twigs.¹ Accordingly, in the “List of Offerings” in *Hetyaḥ*’s burial-chamber the *Removal of the footprints* appears as the last entry but one—the last being, as already stated, the *Breaking of the red vessels*. Now this *Breaking of the red vessels* (打破) is the title of one of the formulae of the *Pyramid Texts*, Spruch 244 of SETHE’s edition. The formula occurs both in the pyramid of Unis and in that of Mernerē, its title in the one case being written  and in the other , spellings which clearly shew that the rendering *Breaking of the red vessels* is correct. In the pyramid of Unis the formula is immediately preceded by the five following formulae:²—the *Heaping up of the god’s offering* (Spruch 199); a libation formula (Spruch 32), entitled *Presenting cool water* (rdit kblw); a formula for the ceremonial washing of the hands (Spruch 23), entitled *Pouring out (water)* (st), and two incense formulae (Spruch 25 and 200).

“The List of Offerings” in the tomb-chapel of Atoti³ at Saqqareh also represents the funerary liturgy as being brought to a close with the pouring out of libation- and lustration-

¹ For further details and full references, see BLACKMAN, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i, p. 27, note 4; ii, pp. 17, 20 foll.; iii, pp. 29, 32; *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1918—1919, p. 38; the article *Worship (Egyptian)*, § 4, (4) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, Pl. XVIII, and pp. 93 foll.; W. S. BLACKMAN, *Discovery*, IV., p. 283.

² SETHE, *Altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, iii, p. 165.

³ MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas*, i, Pl. XVIII.

water (*kbhw* and *st*), and the burning of incense, these three entries following immediately on *Front of the offering-table, choice portions* (*ḥt wdhw štpw*), which entry, as is shewn by a passage from a formula in SCHIAPARELLI, *Libro dei Funerali*, ii, pp. 158 foll., and by a line of text attached to the "List of Offerings" in NEWBEREY, *Beni Hasan*, i, Pl. XVII, means that the *choice portions* are at this juncture to be *brought to the front of the offering-table* (*shpw r ḥt wdhw*). Yet again the vignettes attached to a "List of Offerings" in the tomb of Petamenope¹ represent the funerary banquet as terminating with these same three episodes and the *Removal of the footprints*. Evidently, therefore, the procedure must have been as follows:—After all the items of food and drink had been made over to the deceased (or divinity), there was a final pouring out of a libation of water, a lustral washing of hands, and the burning of incense. Lastly, as is clearly indicated by the "List of Offerings" written for *Hetya'h*, and by the succession of the above-mentioned formulae in the pyramid of Unis, the footprints of the officiant and his assistants were removed by sweeping, and some red pottery vessels—probably the four or eight used for lustration purposes—were broken. As this "breaking" took place after the floor had been swept, we may perhaps suppose that the officiant smashed the pots on the threshold before he closed, bolted, and sealed² the doors of the tomb-chapel or sanctuary.

The formula ordered to be recited while the red vessels were being broken is imperfect and very obscure.³

¹ DÜMICHEN, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, i, Pl. IV.

² See BLACKMAN, *The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy*, in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1918—1919, p. 39 with footnote and p. 44; the article "Worship" (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, § 5, (4).

³ ALLEN, *Horus in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 53, F 153; SETHE, *op. cit.*, § 249.

The origin of the performance is doubtless to be found in the deeply rooted objection prevailing among many people to putting to further use in daily life anything that has been employed for purposes connected with the dead. Thus in modern Egypt the baskets used by the men who have taken part in the digging of a grave are thrown into the grave-shaft when it is being filled up. So no doubt in ancient Egypt, when the graveside ceremonies enacted at the interment were over, the pottery vessels used for purposes of lustration were smashed, the same practice being observed also at the daily or periodical celebrations of the funerary liturgy.

NORTH WALL OF RECESS.

(Pls. XXI, 1 and XXV, 2)

As in the northern burial-chamber, the paintings on the north wall depict an array of food- and drink-offerings, without any accompanying text.

WEST WALL OF RECESS.

(Pls. XIX, 1, XX, 7, 8, and XXV, 2)

The scheme of the decoration on this wall is the same as on the corresponding wall of the recess in the northern burial-chamber. At either end is the house- or palace-façade, and in the middle packages of cloths and toilet-articles arranged in three registers. Above the top register, which consists of two bundles of cloths, a pair of bead-anklets, a pair of bead-bracelets, and a bead-collar, is written in black:—*Grace granted by the king, granted by Anubis who is on his hill,—she⁴ who is honoured by the great god, Hetya'h*. The second register is occupied entirely with three packages of cloths, above two of which—the middle and right-

⁴ The painter has written "he who is honoured," forgetting to add the fem. termination.

end ones—is written in hieratic a list of what seem to be a woman's toilet-articles. A large-scale facsimile copy of this list appears on Pl. XX as figs. 7 and 8. The script is very difficult to read and the names that can be recognised are for the most part of rare occurrence, being probably obsolete, or anyhow obsolescent, when this Sixth Dynasty copy of what was doubtless an ancient traditional list was written out on the wall of Hetya'h's burial-chamber. Most of the following readings have been suggested by Professor SETHE. Possibly in process of time other scholars will be able to recognize the names of objects still remaining unidentified, or improve on the—in many cases very tentatively—proposed transcriptions here given.

Fig. 7.

No. 6. , *ssr*, a small toilet article, "lancet" (?) or the like (see JÉQUIER, *Les frises d'objets*, p. 129).

No. 7. Perhaps , *wdw*, "green eye-paint."

No. 8. (?), *shkr*.

No. 9. (?), *nhbt*, "nhbt-sceptre" (see MACE-WINLOCK, *Tomb of Senektisi*, p. 76; LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, ii, p. 164).

No. 13. (?), *sist*, "sist-cloth" (see above p. 4).

Fig. 8.

No. 1. (?), *nbt*, "basket" (see ERMAN-GRAPOW, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 78).

No. 2. (?), *hsb* (see LACAU, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 141 [37], 166).

No. 3. (?), *bit*.

No. 5. (?), *sbit*.

No. 7. (?), *nb-m3-hr*, "mirror" (see LACAU, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 158).

No. 8. (?), *sist*, "sist-amulet," i. e. the amulet in form of a crouching hawk (?) (see JÉQUIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 91—93).

No. 9. (?), *iw*, a kind of cloth?

No. 10. (?), some kind of collar?

In the bottom register are depicted three wooden toilet boxes, the central one being of ebony, the other two coloured dark and light red (or pink).

SOUTH WALL OF RECESS.

(Pls. XVIII, 3, XXV, 2)

The decoration on this wall is similar to that on the south wall of the recess in the northern burial-chamber, consisting of three granaries with eight heaps of grain on the left (east) side of them. Between the grain and the granaries is the following vertical line of text in blue paint:—*Grace granted by the king and Anubis who is on his hill—she¹ who is honoured by the great god, Hetya'h*. It is interesting to note that the contents both of the corn-bins and the toilet-boxes are reckoned as *grace granted by the king*. The *htp d i nswt* prayer by this time had become, of course, simply a form of words by which any offering was made over to a divinity or dead person, whether that offering actually emanated from the king or not.²

¹ Masc. form as on west wall.

² See the writer's art. *Worship (Egyptian)* in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, §§ 5, (3), 6, (4); DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pp. 79—85.

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Bw, "Old Man" (name of a pool), 36, 37.
Bwt, "office", 25.
bt m3t, "district of Right", 24.
bdt, "net", 29.
lw(?), "lw-cloth (?)", 52.
lw3, "ox", 44.
lw3t(sic), *rn*, "young ox", 31.
lwn-k3-mwt, priestly title, 23.
imt, name of pool, 36, 37.
lyt hr, "to be known by", 24.
lm3-hn . . . t, untranslatable title, 42.
lly, "musician-priest", and also used as title of youthful Horus, 31.
lht, *lrt*, "perform the ceremonial", 24.
lht, *l3t*, "property", 24.
l3, enclitic particle, 24, 25, 31.
l3t nt sr, "magistracy-income", 24.

3, *3w*, "3-cloth", 47, 49.
nh-m33-hr, "mirror", 52.
ntyw, "ntyw-perfume", 39.
W3dw, "green eye-paint", 52.
w3d-w(r), "great green (Ocean)", 36, 37.
w3rt nbt m3t, "region of the Mistress of Right", 24.
wn3, name of some food-stuff or medicament, 49.
whrt, "wharf", 5, 34.
w3r, "to be dry, empty", 30.
wdn, "be heavily laden", 30.
wdhw, "offering-table", 31.
B3b3t, some kind of grain or seed, 49.
b3k, "be bright", "clear", 25.
b3t, 52.
b3, *b3j*, "barley(?)", 35, 38, 49.

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Pbkt, "fine linen", 47—49.
pr-twt, "statue-chamber", 20.
psn, "psn-cakes", 33.

Mt^tt, *w^trt nbt*, see under *w^trt*.
m-sjn, "too hastily (?)", "wrongly (?)", 32.
Mt-sic-m3, personal name.

Nbt, "basket", 52.
n nk, "I have", 32.
nbt, "nbt-sceptre", 52.
Nbbw, personal name, 24.
nhnm, "nhnm-unguent", 33.
nkr, "to sift through a sieve", 35.

R nfr w3h, "in good order", 43.
rwt, "portal", 31.

H3tyw, "h3tyw-cloth", 47, 48.
hb, "catch", 29.
h3b, 52.
hk3w-nwt, "town-'omdehs", 41.
hknw, "hknw-unguent", 33.
htp dl n3wt, "grace granted by the king", 22, 47, 52.

Hn, "thing", 31.
hnwt, "musician-priestess", 25.
hnt, var. *hntyw*, "hnt-cloth", 47, 49.

S3-pr, "stall", 37.
s3b-sbty, "Chief Justice", 18.
sft, "sft-unguent", 33.
smyt, "cemetery-hill", 44.
snt, "draughts-board", 32.
stt, "wheat", 49.
st, "pour out (water)", 50, 51.

33l, "to knead (?)", 35.
33t, 38.
33t, "33t-amulet", 52.
33, "recognise", 47.

sl3t, "sl3t-cloth", 47, 52.
sb3y, "well directed", 44.
sm3w-pr, "seneschal", 32.
snmt, "snmt-cloth", 47, 48.
srt, infin. form, "being a magistrate", 25.
shmt, 31.
shnt, "shnt-cloth", 47.
shkr, 52.
sf, 48, 49.
s3pt-Urrt, "raisins", 49.
stpw, "leapers", 36.
sd, "to break", 50.

33t, 48.
sw, "shadow", 25.
sbt, 52.
spt, "be vexed", 24.
sm3yt, "Upper Egyptian cloth", 47, 48.
snt, 48, 49.
ssr, "lanceet" (?), 52.
st, "fillet", 31.
sdt, infin. of *sdy* "lift".

K3, *hry*, "possessing a *ka*", 24.

K3, "be high, extolled", 31.

Gs-pr, "royal domain", 23, 28.

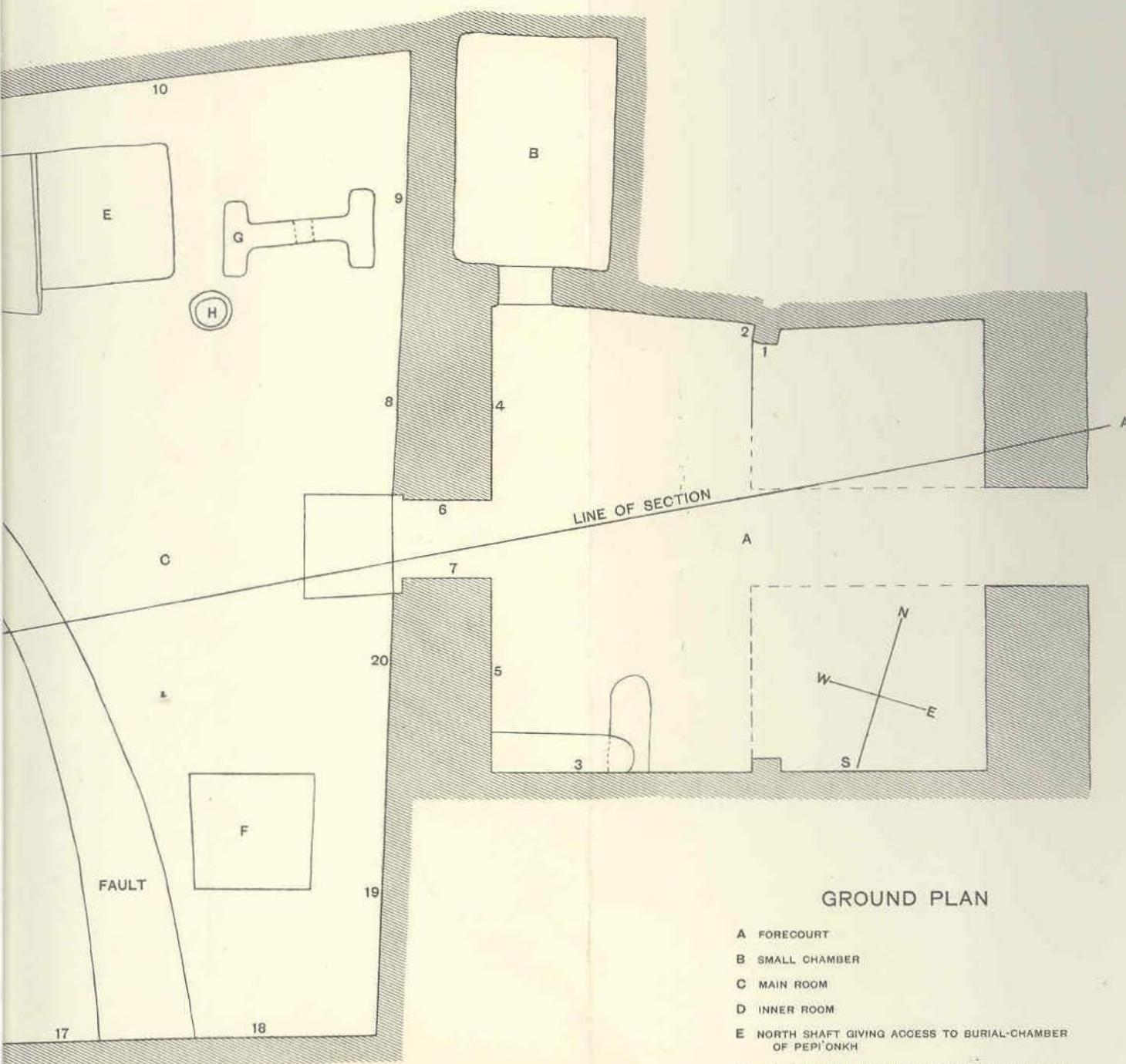
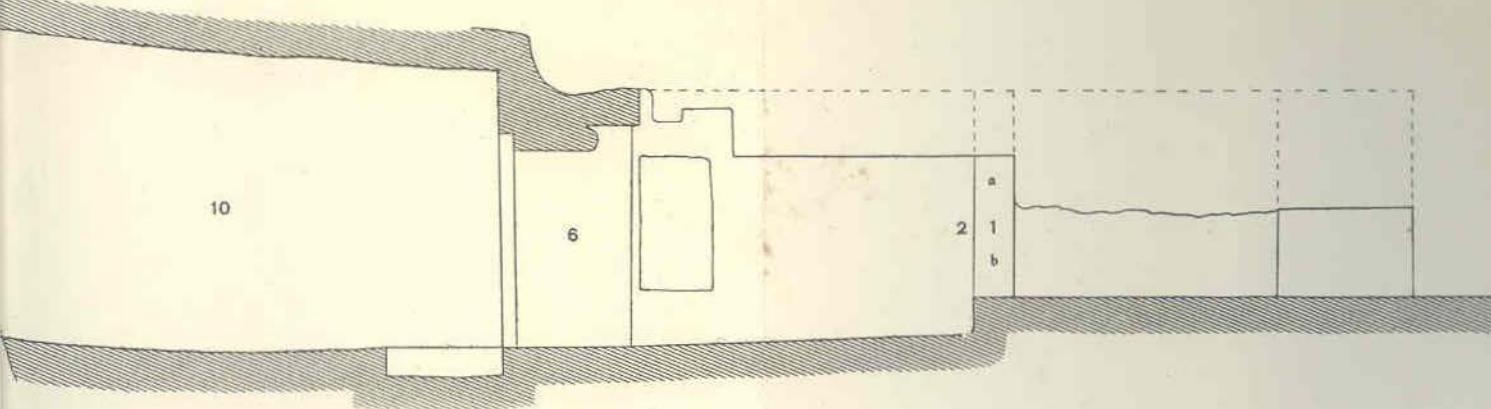
T3-w3d, "green bread", 36.
t3 d3r, "necropolis", perh. lit., "elevated land", 22.
tw3wt, "tw3wt-unguent", 33.
tp-nfr, "favour", 45.

Tm3, 40.

Dn3, "be heavy", 29.
d3srwt, "red vases", 50.
ddw, kind of grain, or the like, 35.

Dd m, "to speak about", 26.

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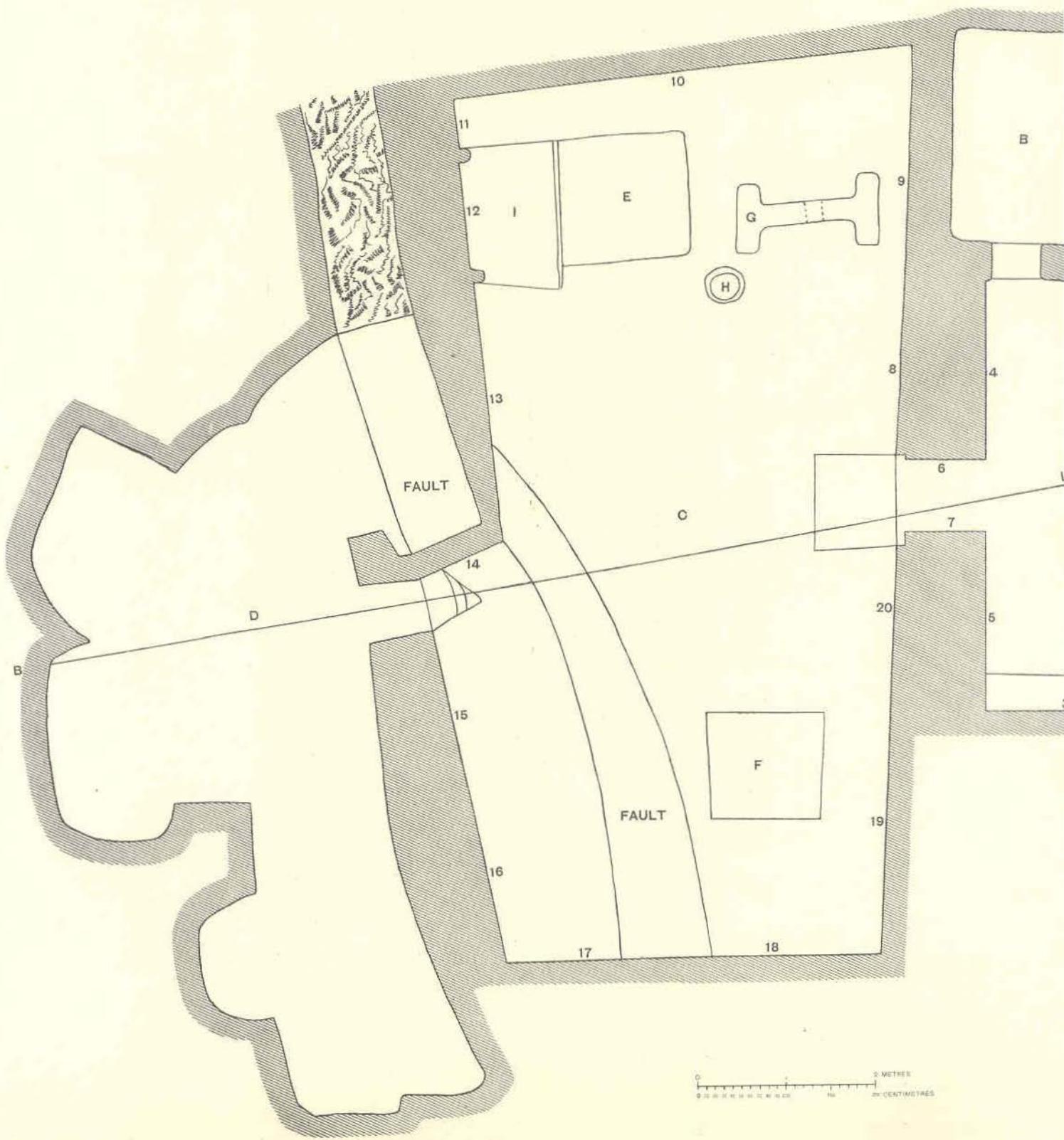
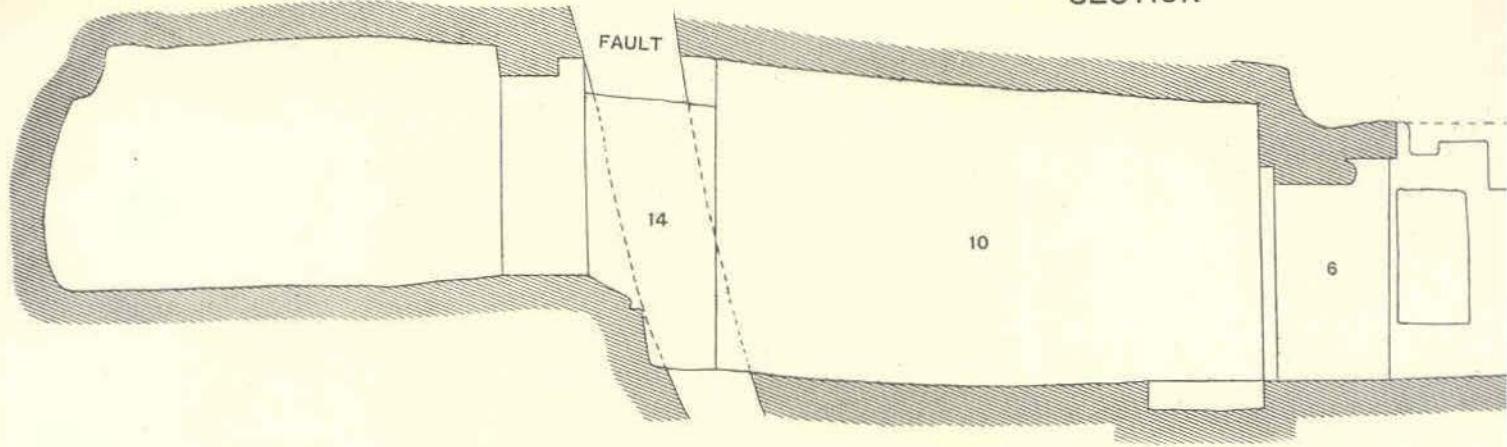


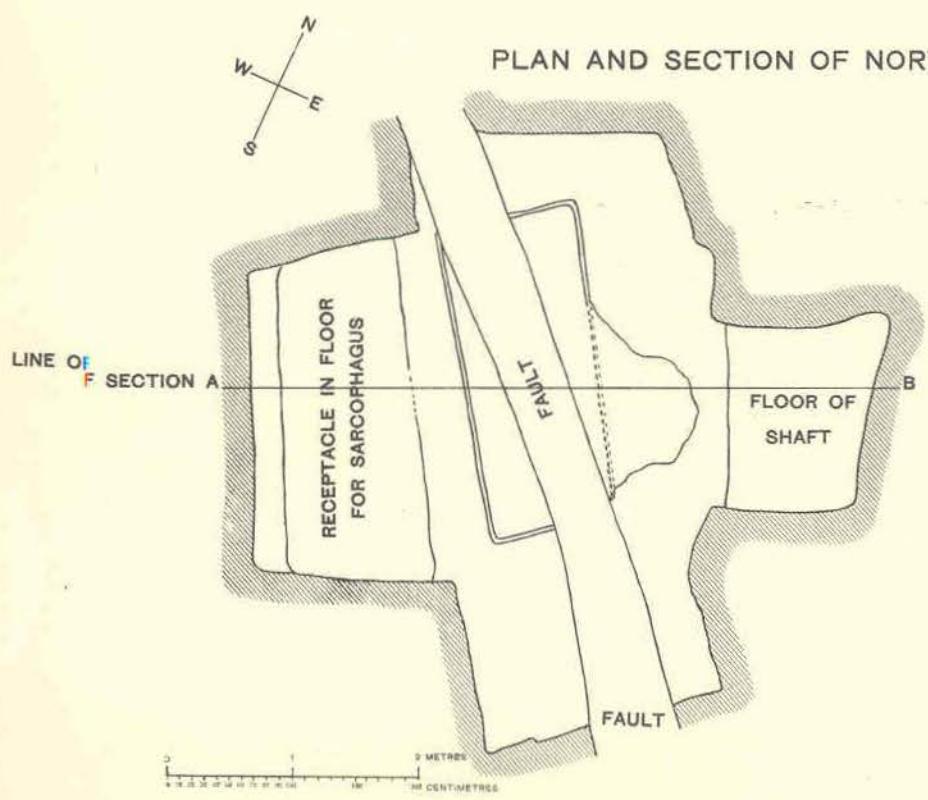
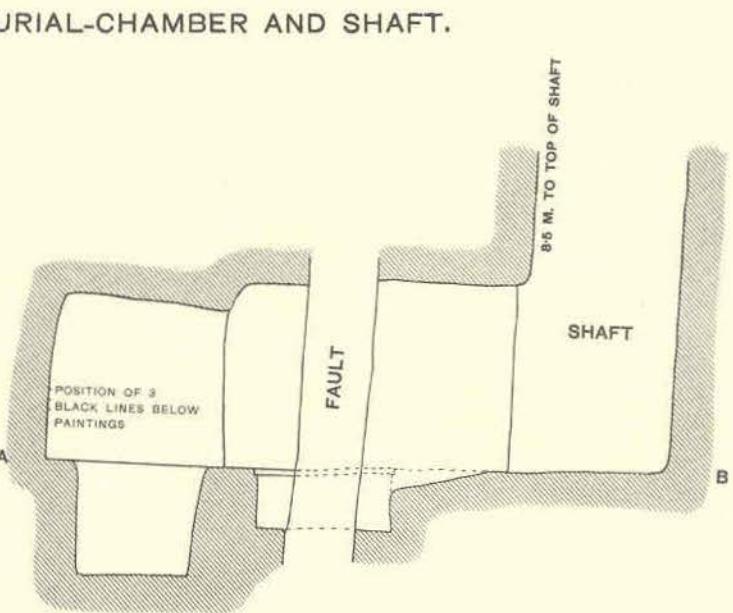
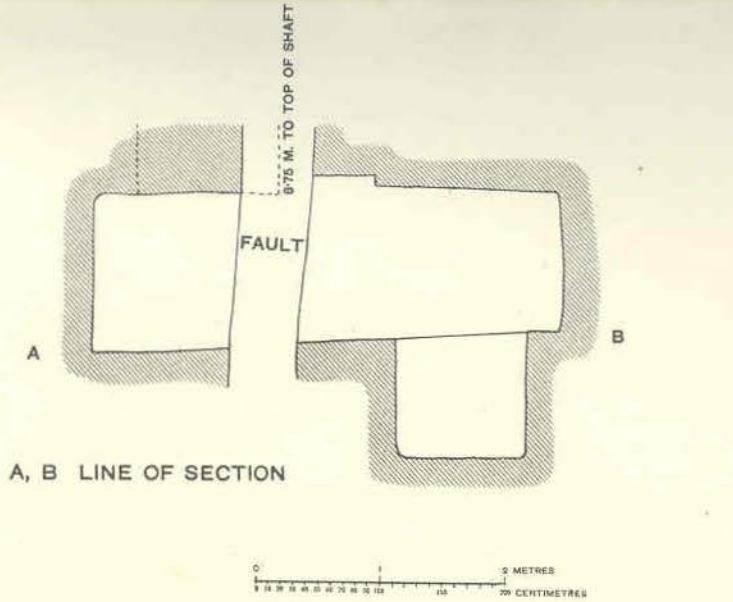
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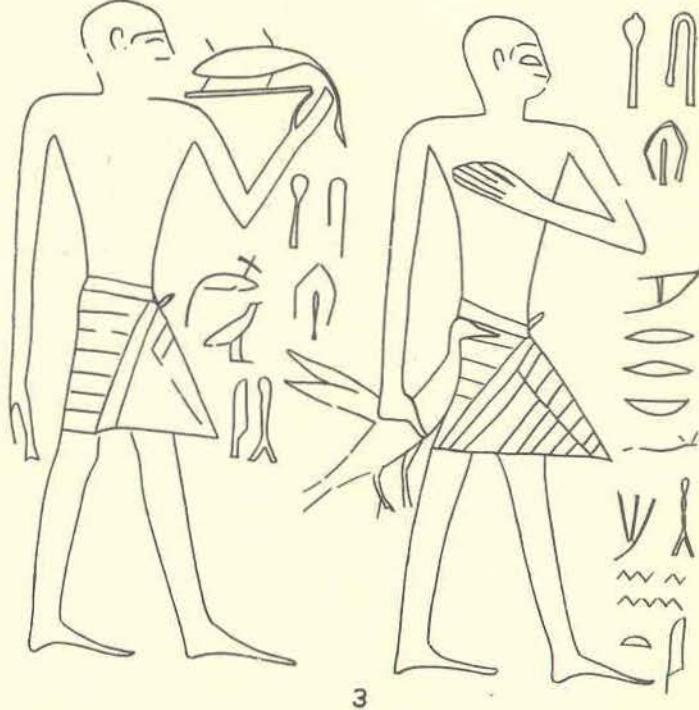
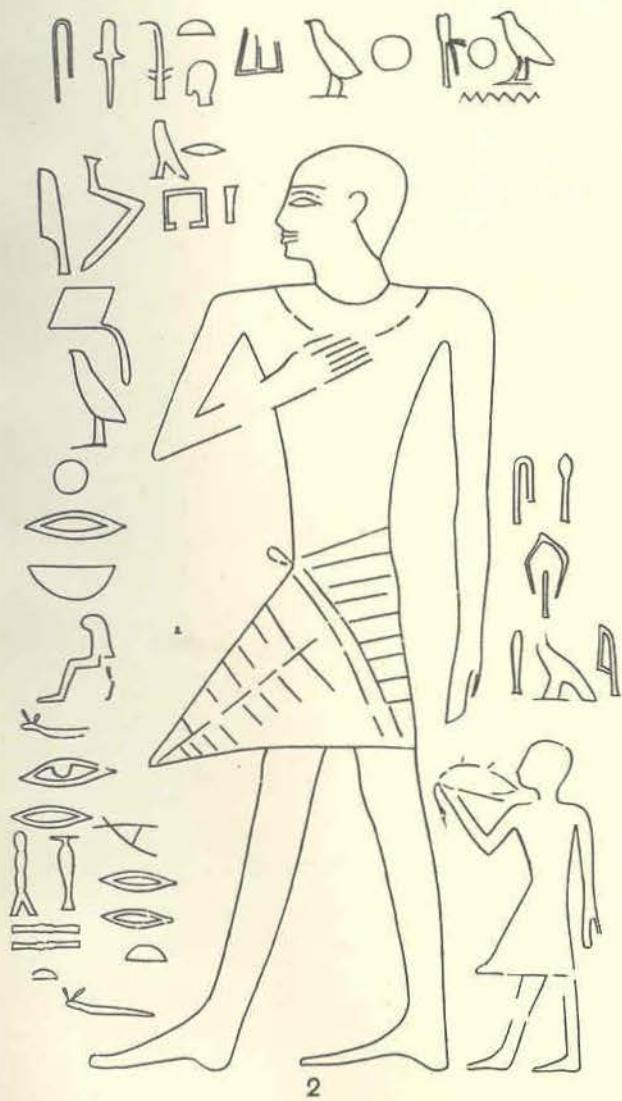
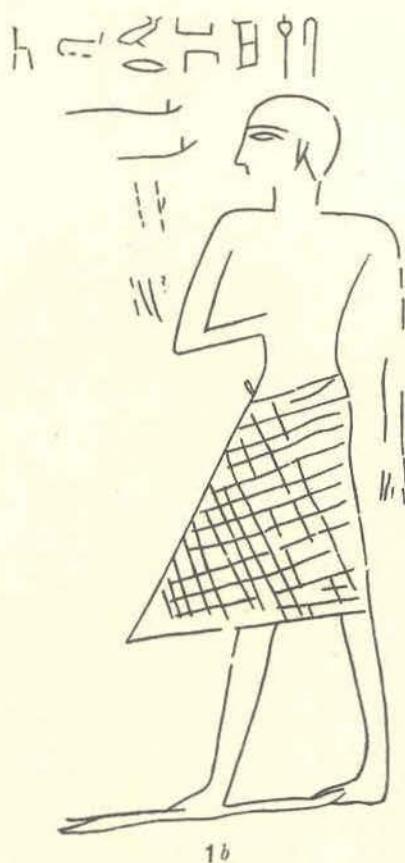
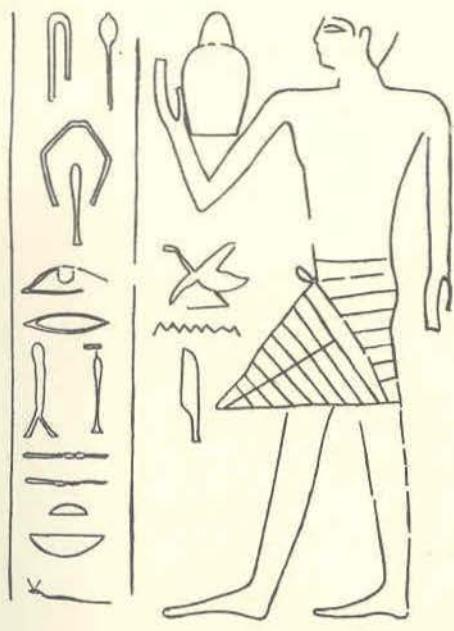
- A FORECOURT
- B SMALL CHAMBER
- C MAIN ROOM
- D INNER ROOM
- E NORTH SHAFT GIVING ACCESS TO BURIAL-CHAMBER OF PEPI-ONKH
- F SOUTH SHAFT GIVING ACCESS TO BURIAL-CHAMBER OF HETYA'H
- G TETHERING STONE FOR VICTIM
- H BASIN FOR CATCHING BLOOD OF VICTIM
- I PLATFORM IN FRONT OF FAÇADE-STELA

THE ARABIC NUMERALS REFER TO THE SCENES REPRODUCED ON PLATES

SECTION

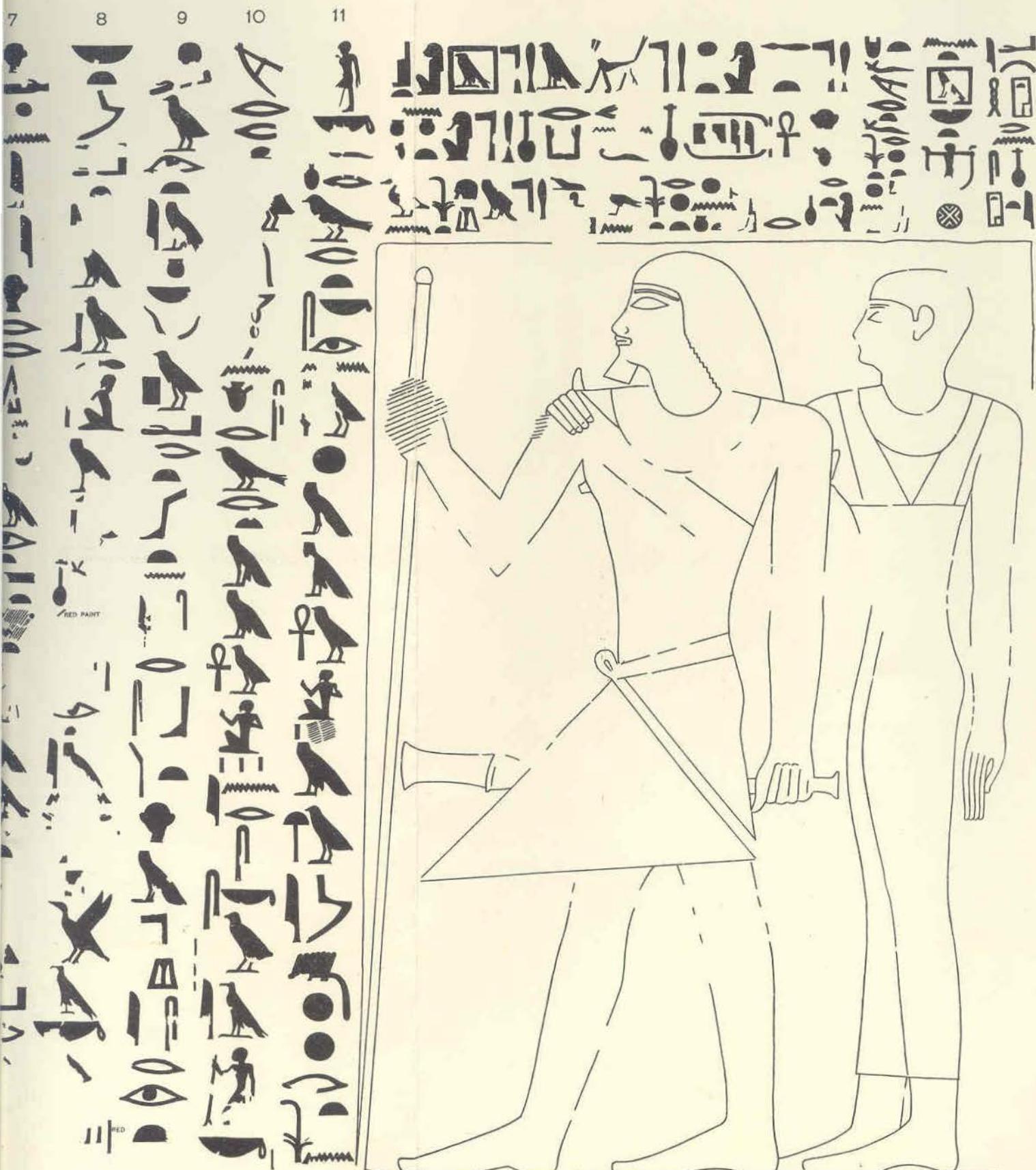




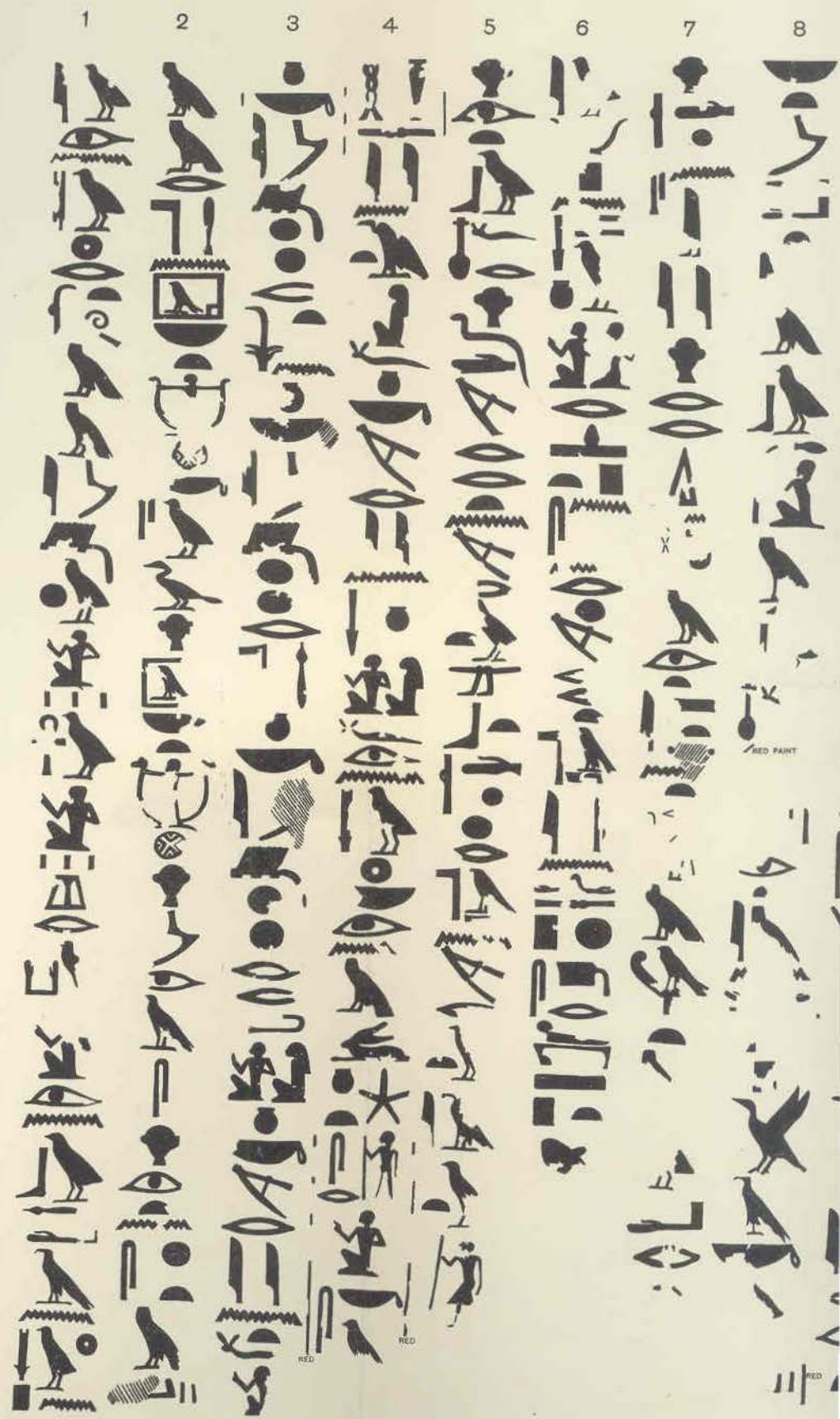
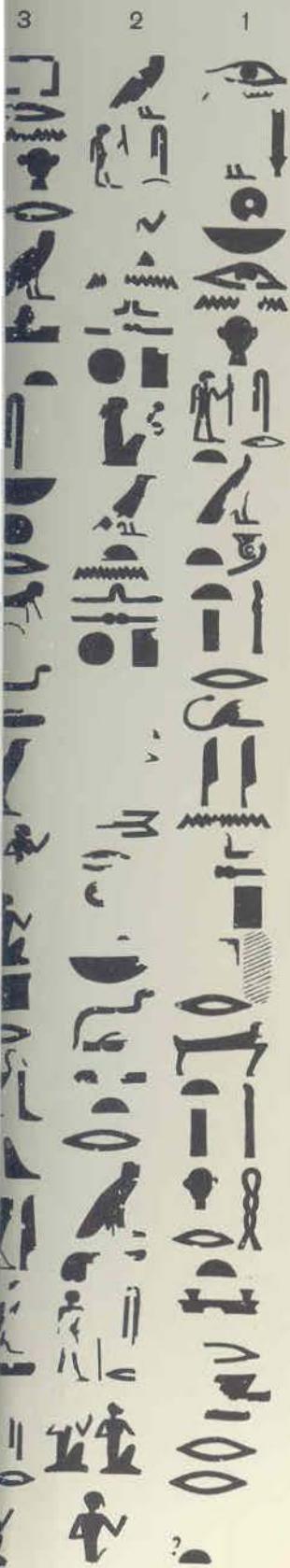


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GRAFFITI IN FORECOURT.

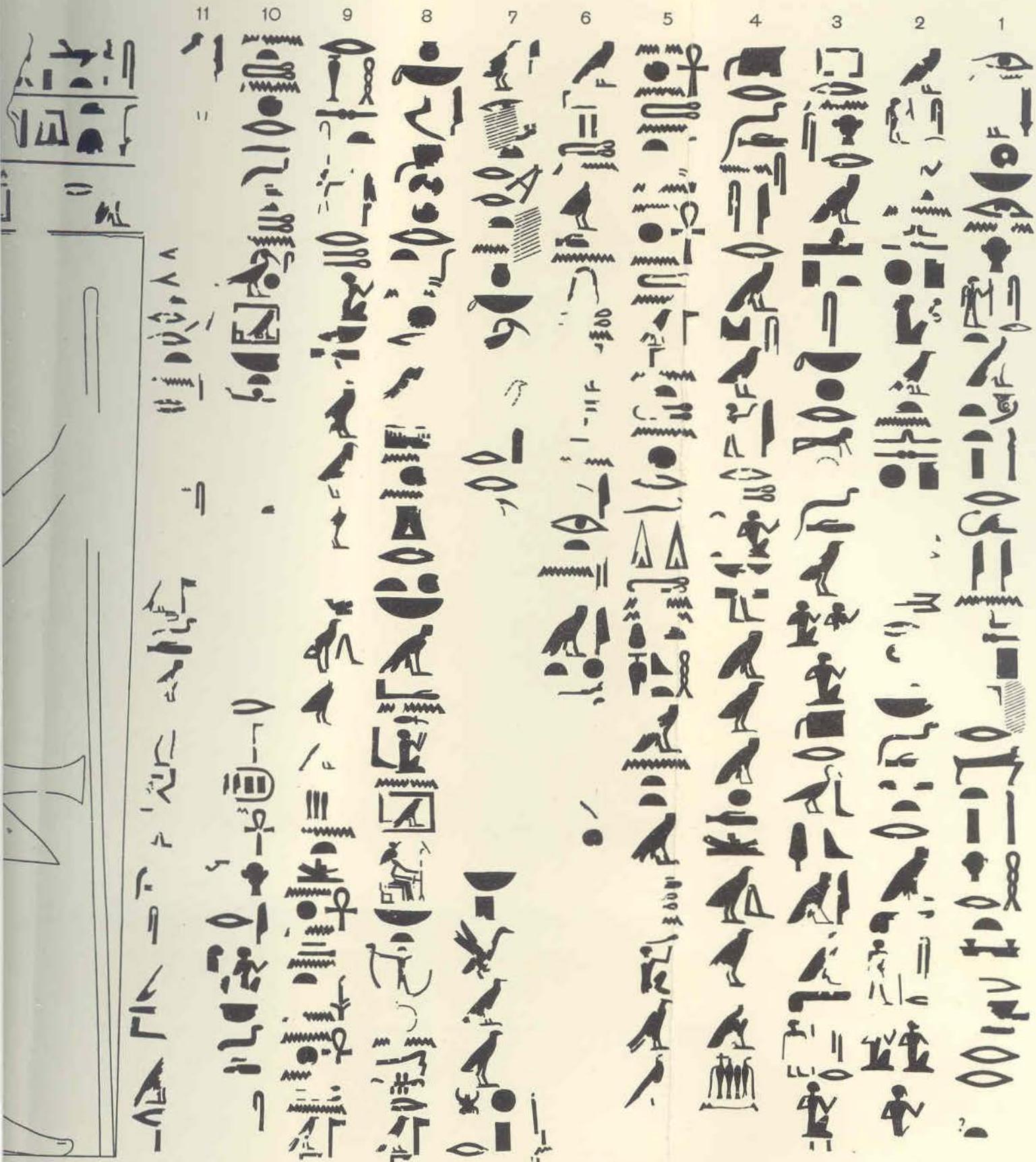


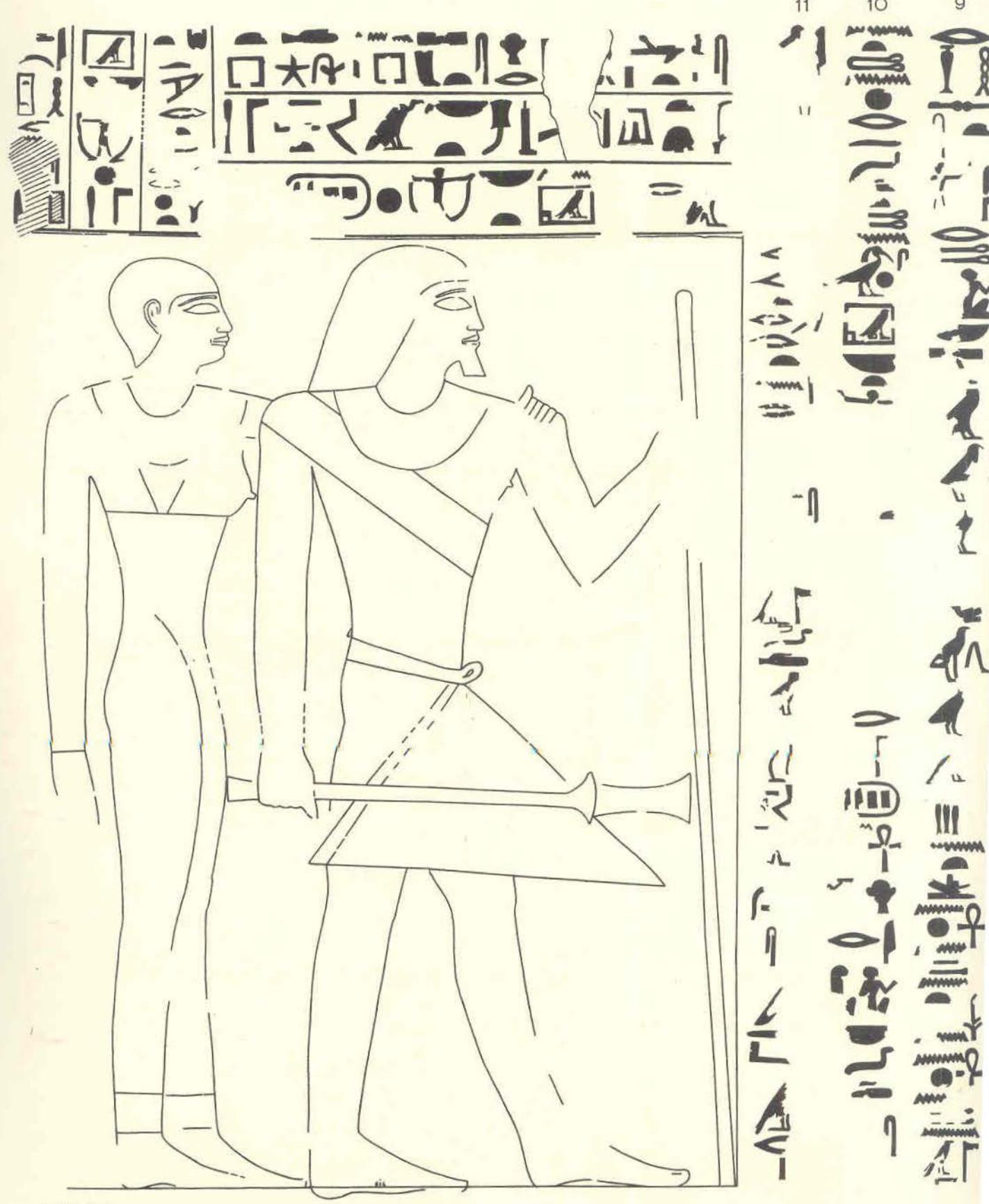
WEST WALL: NORTH OF ENTRANCE TO MAIN ROOM (4)



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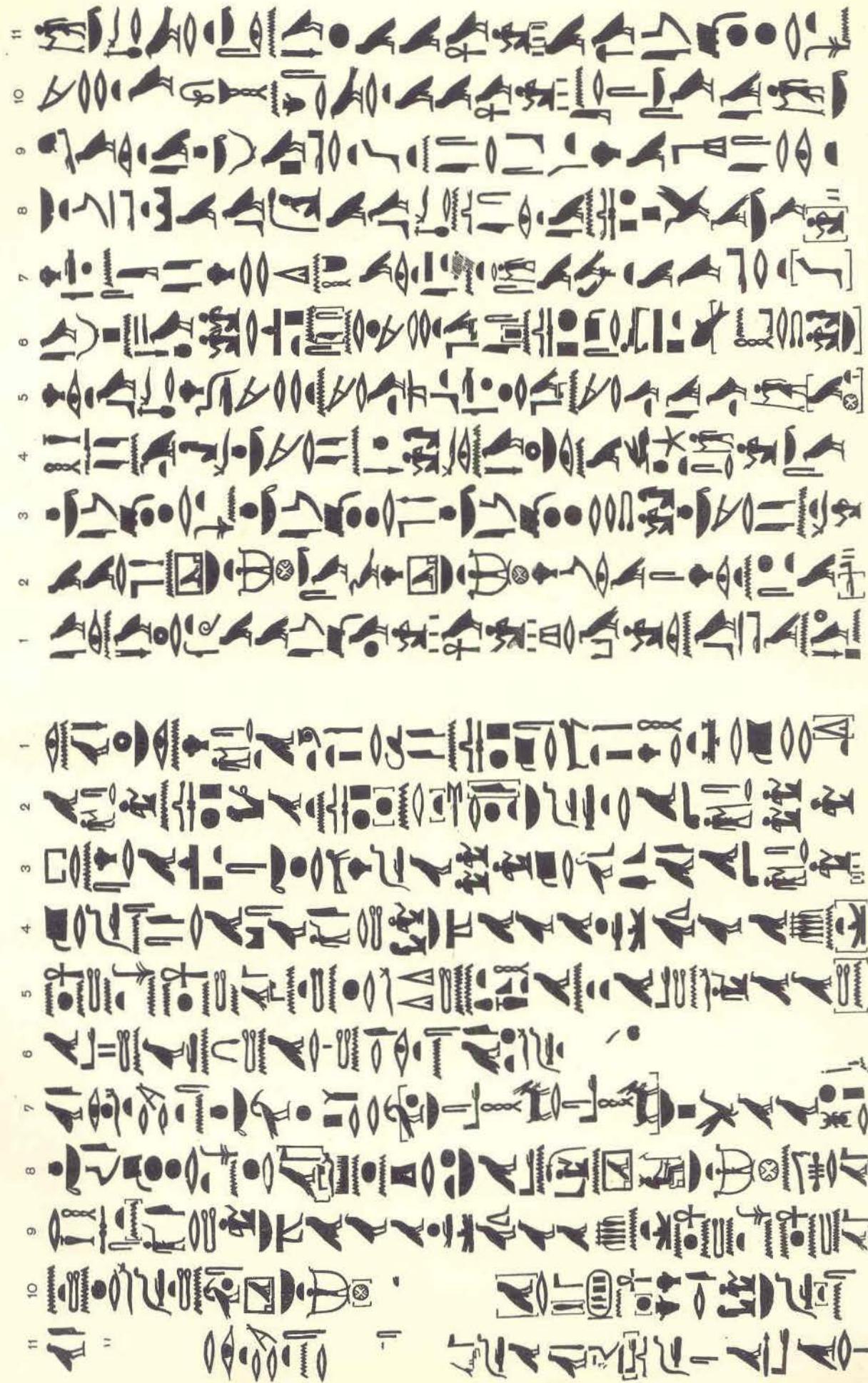
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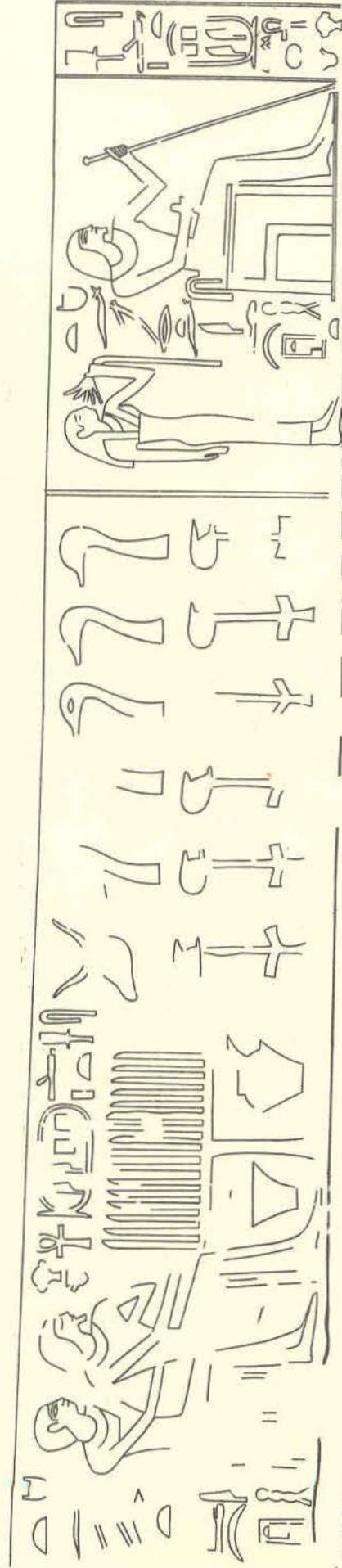
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2. FORECOURT: WEST WALL;
SOUTH OF ENTRANCE TO MAIN ROOM (5).3. FORECOURT: WEST WALL;
NORTH OF ENTRANCE TO MAIN ROOM (4).

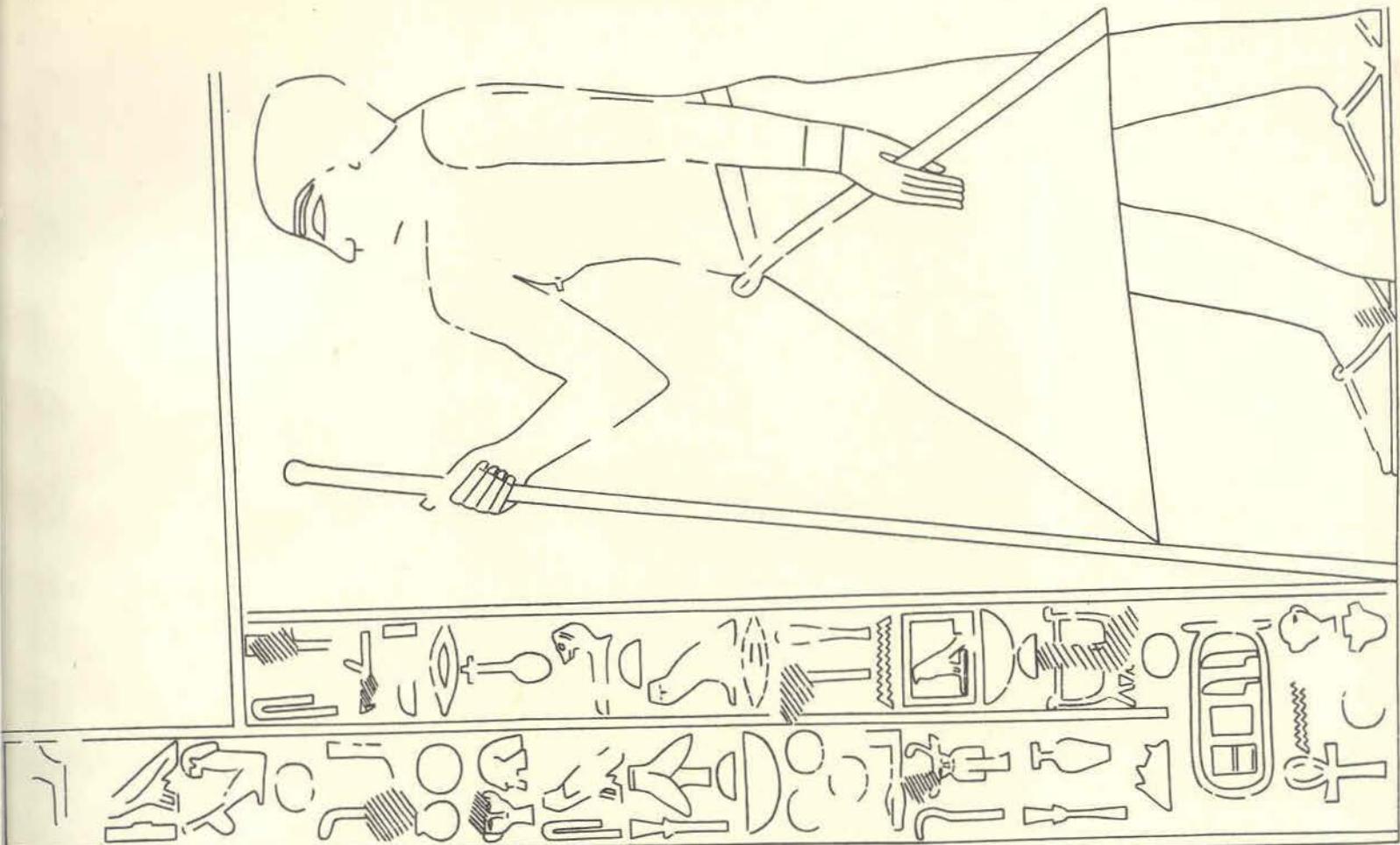
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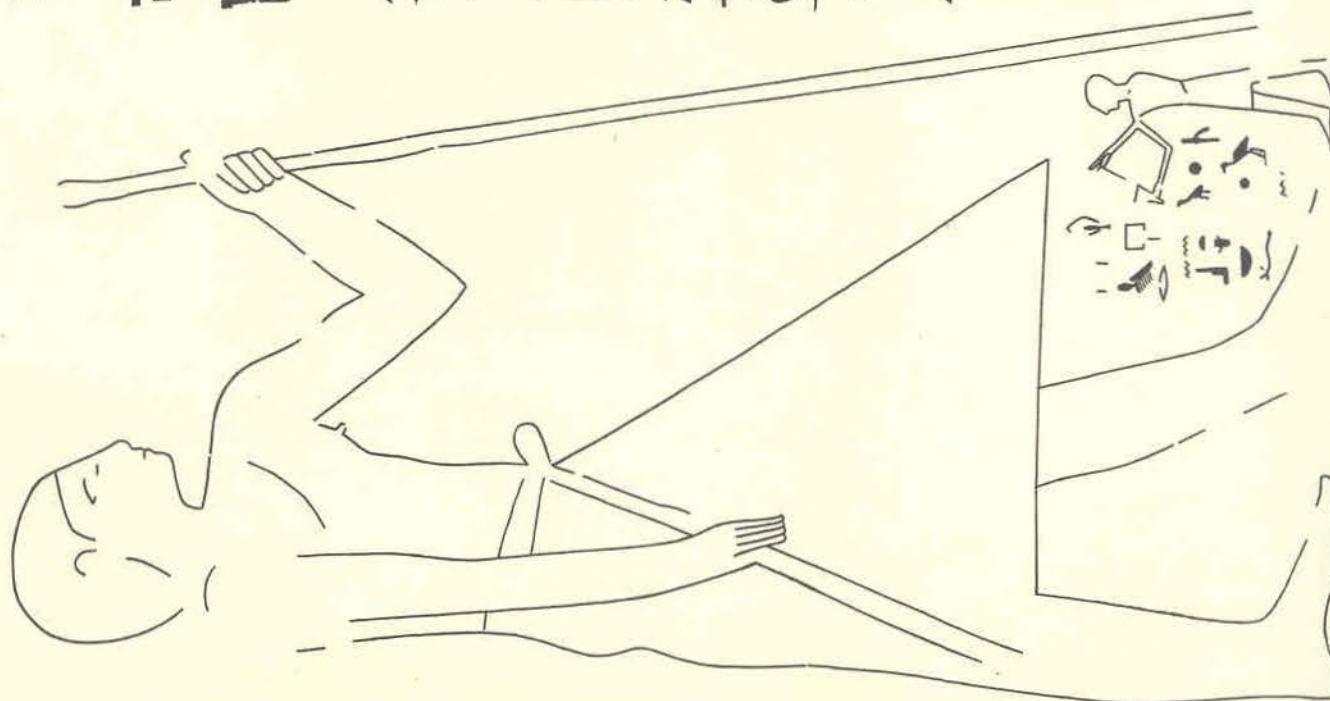
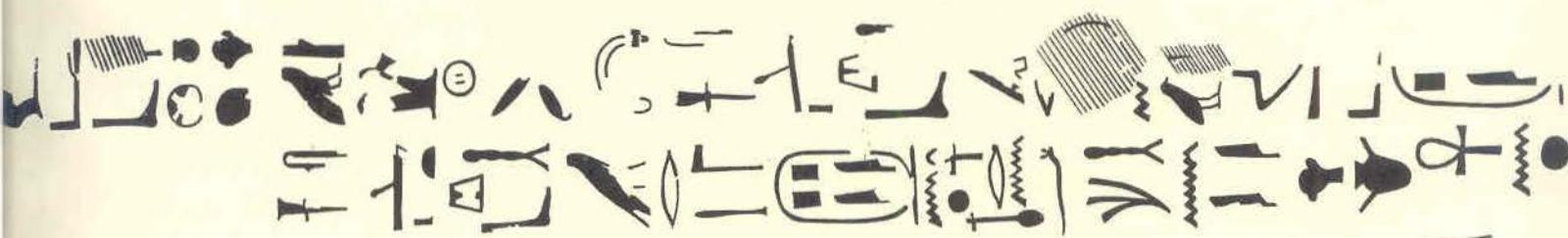
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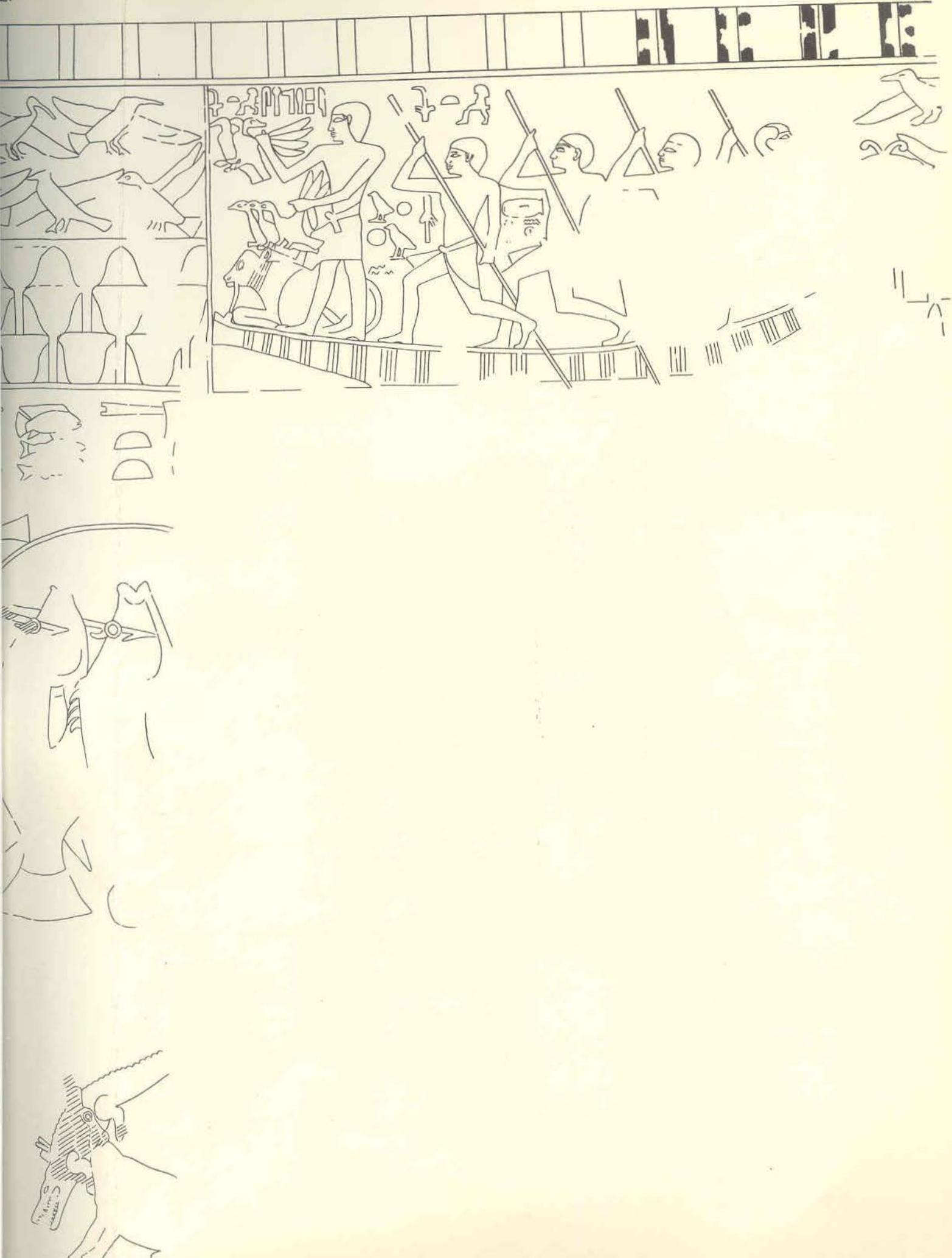
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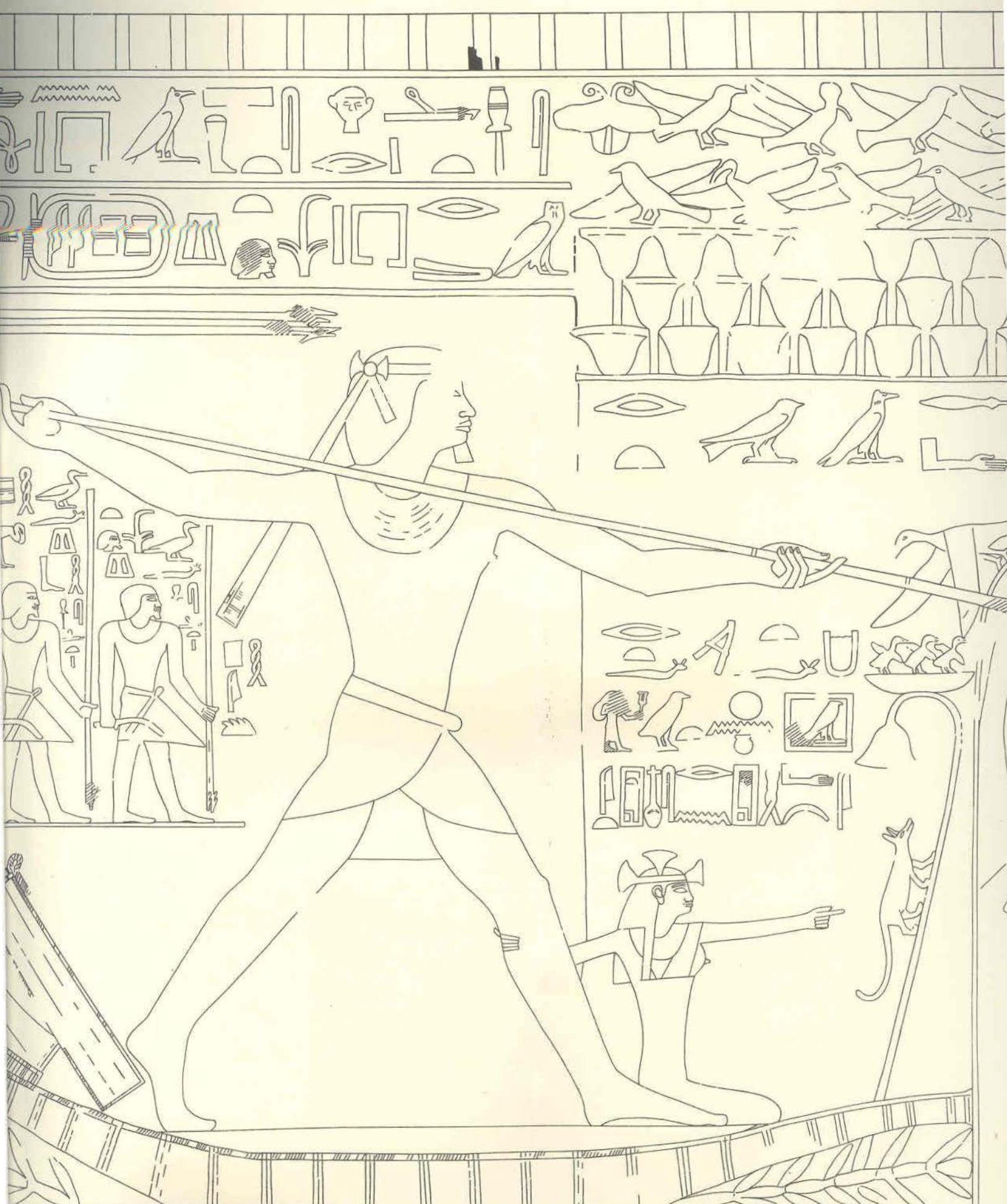


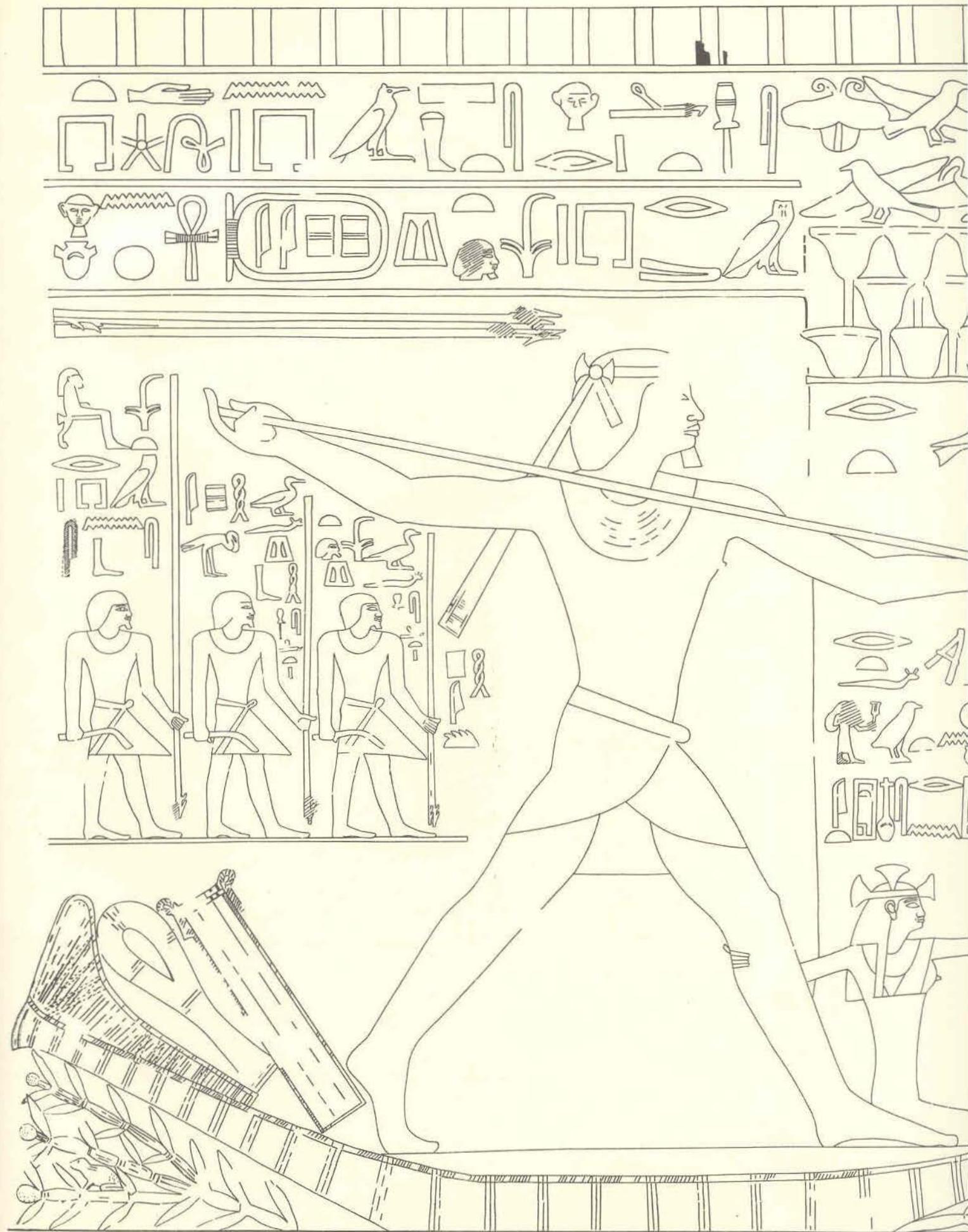
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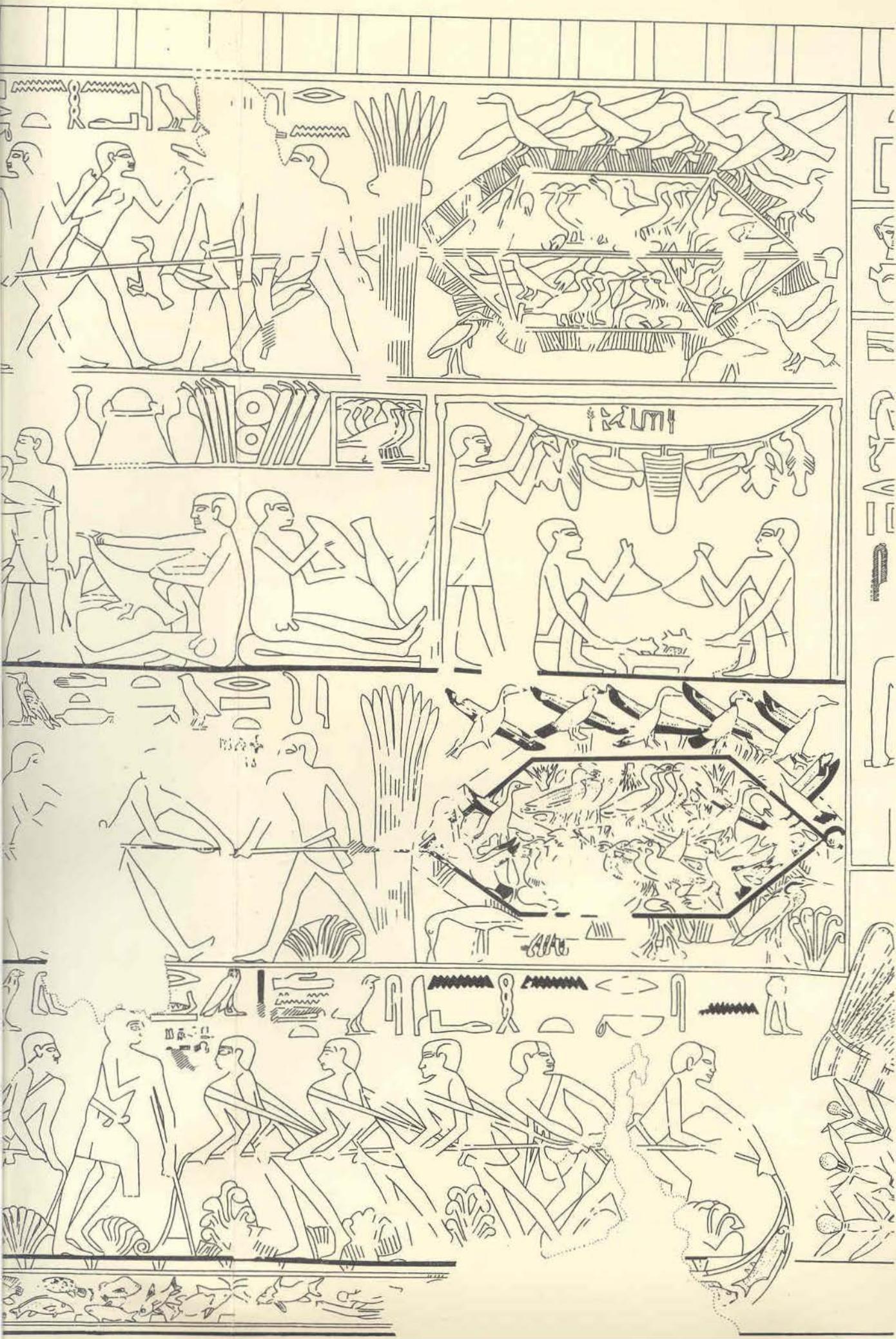


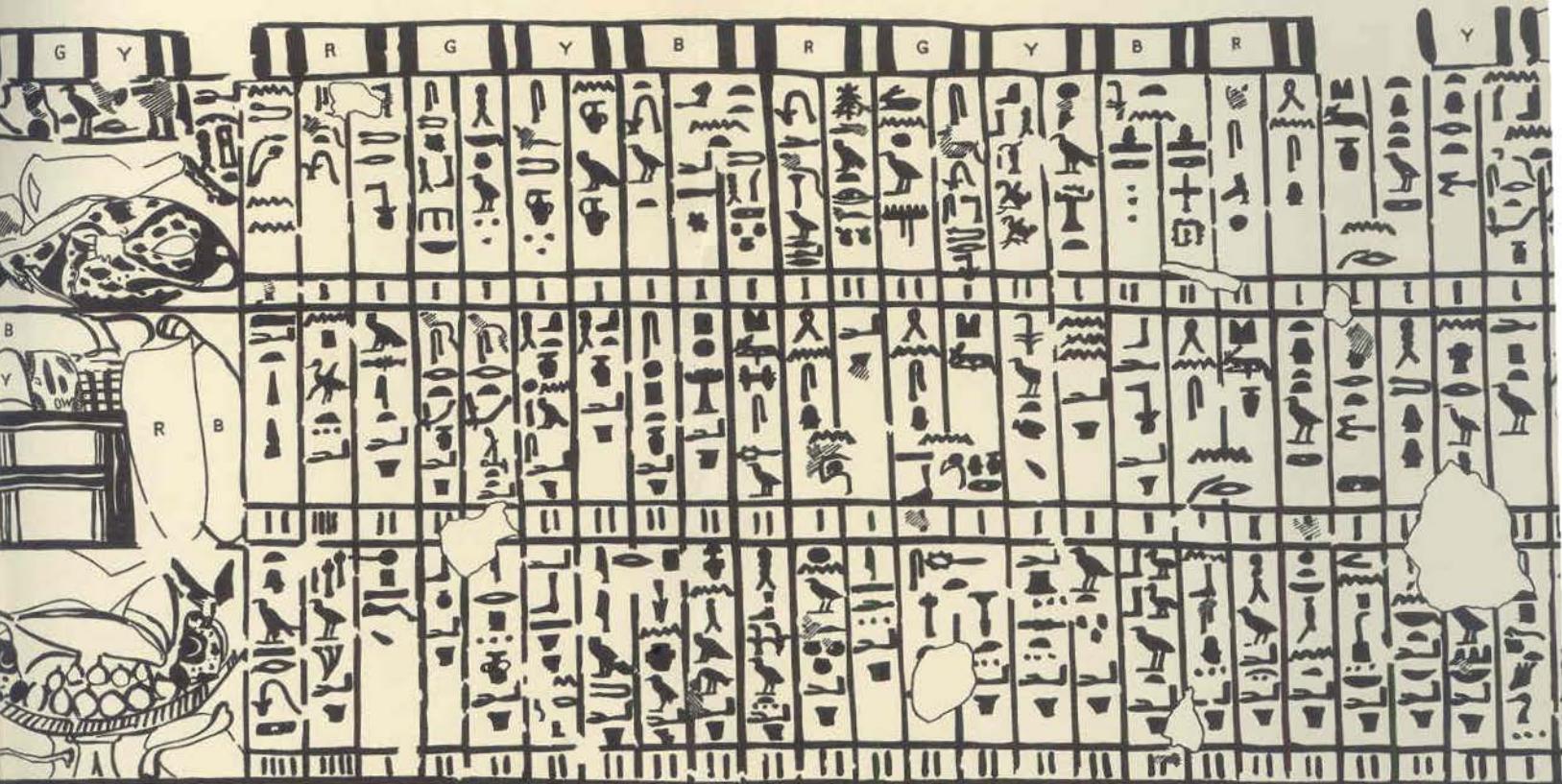
SCALE 1:6



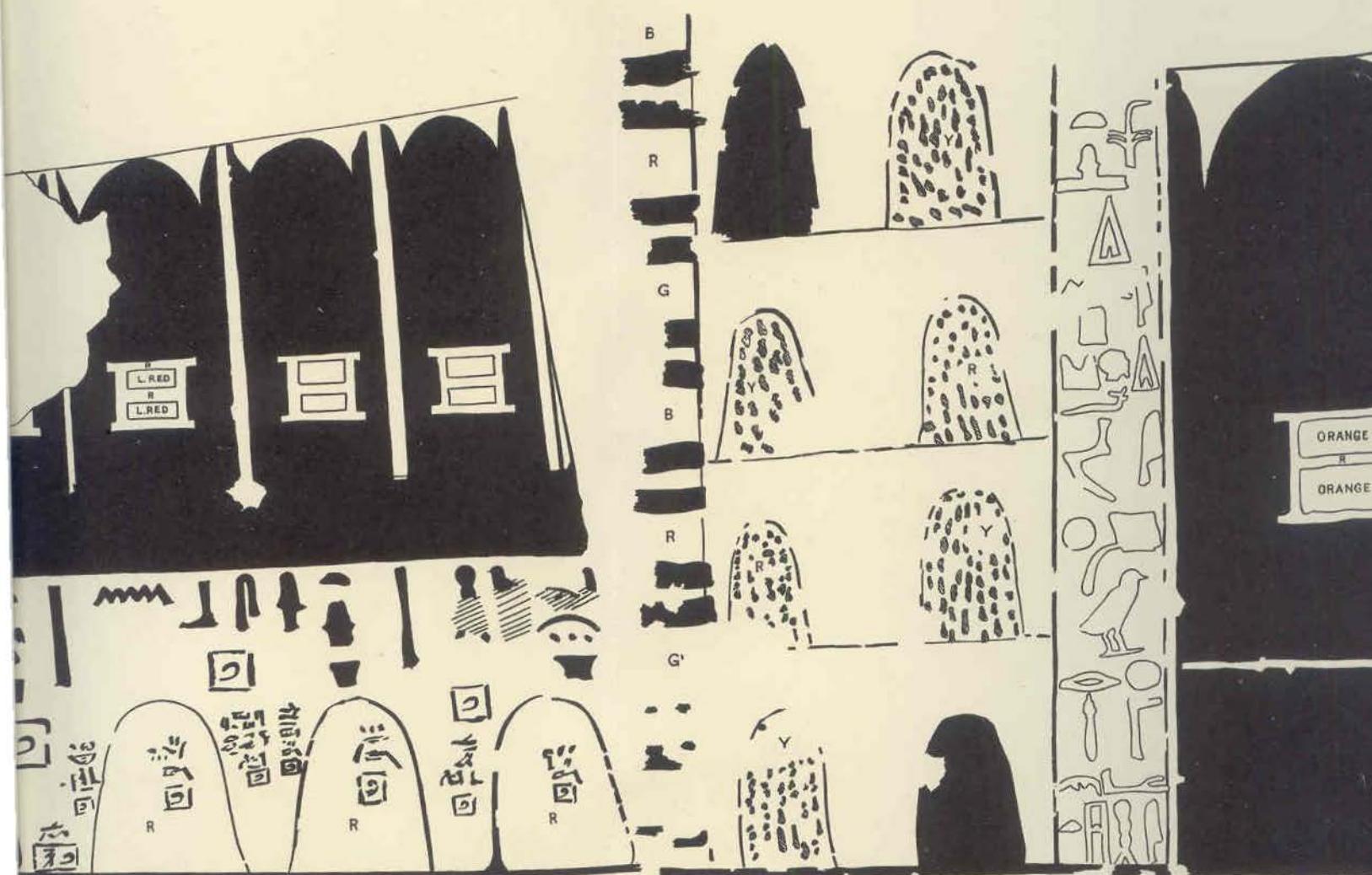








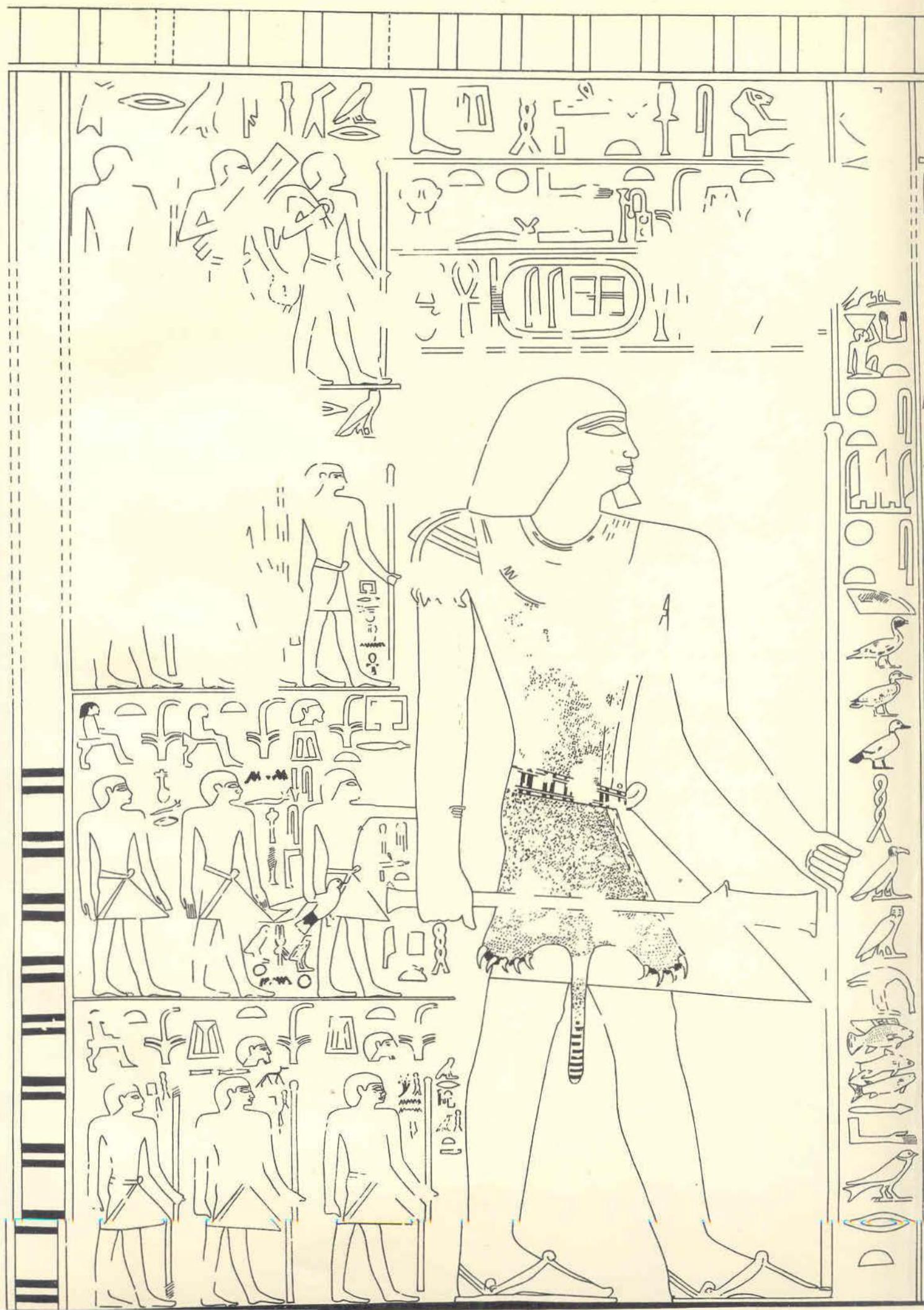
1. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: NORTH HALF OF EAST WALL.

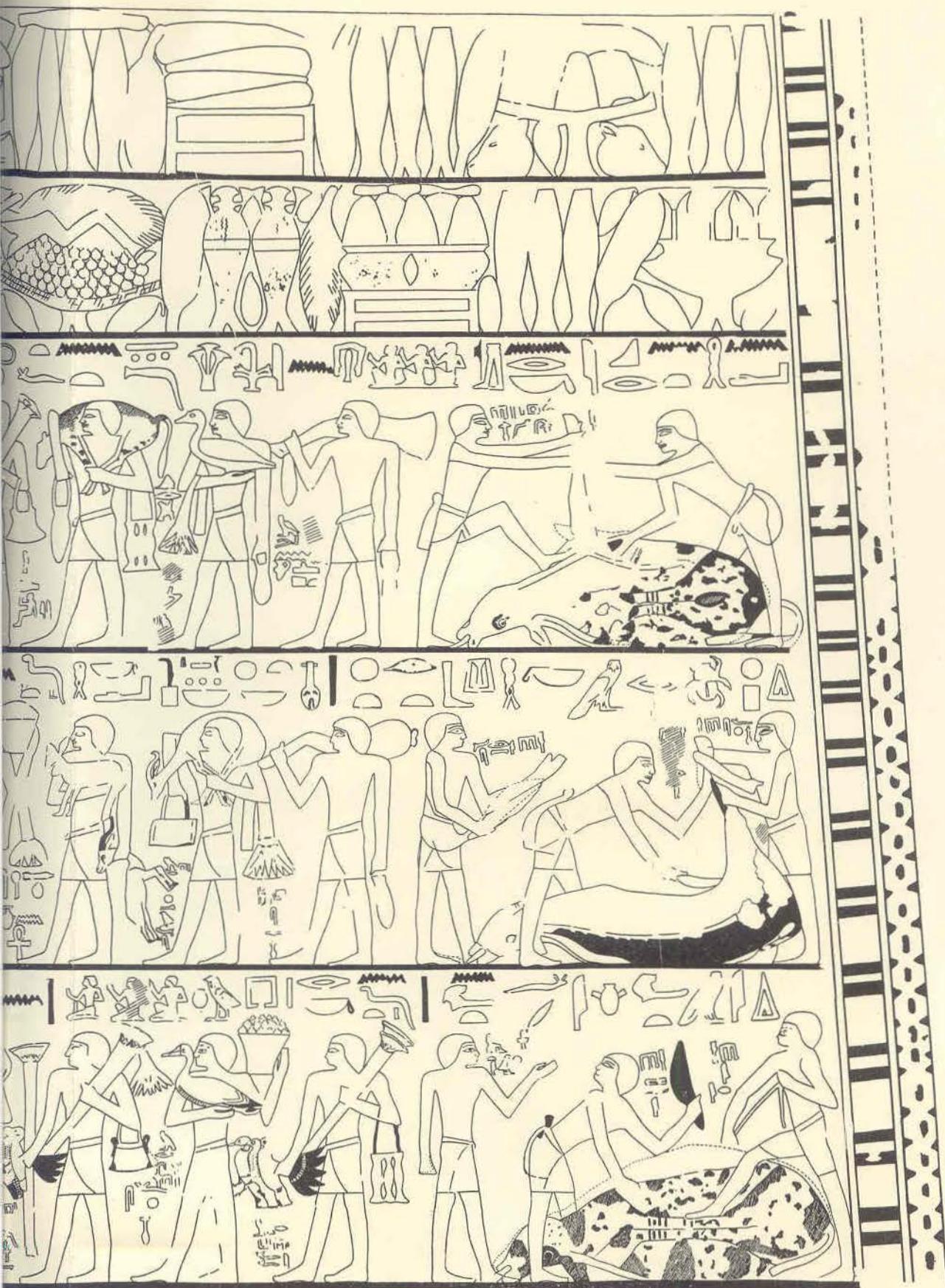


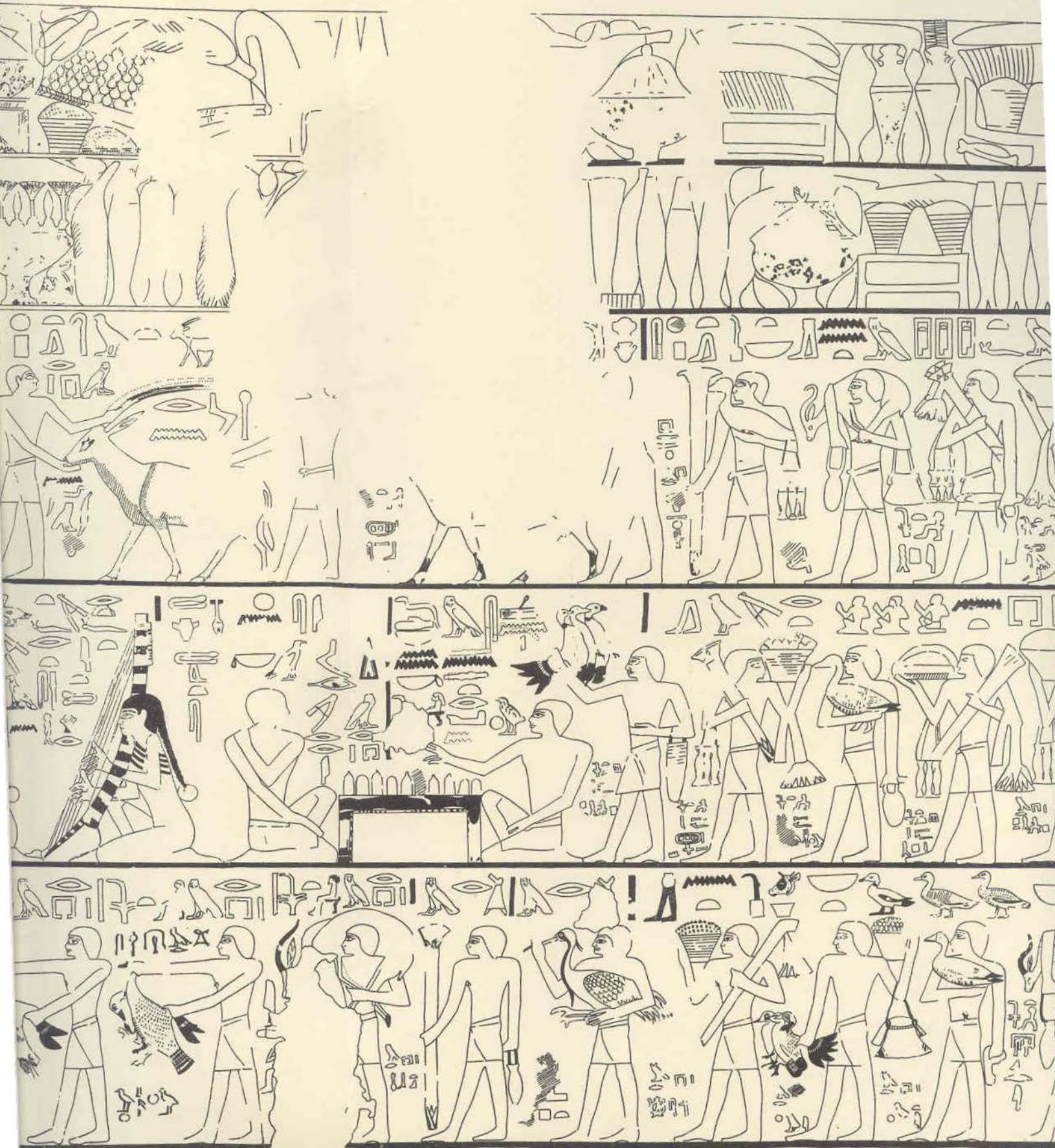
SCALE 1:6

3. SOUTH BURI

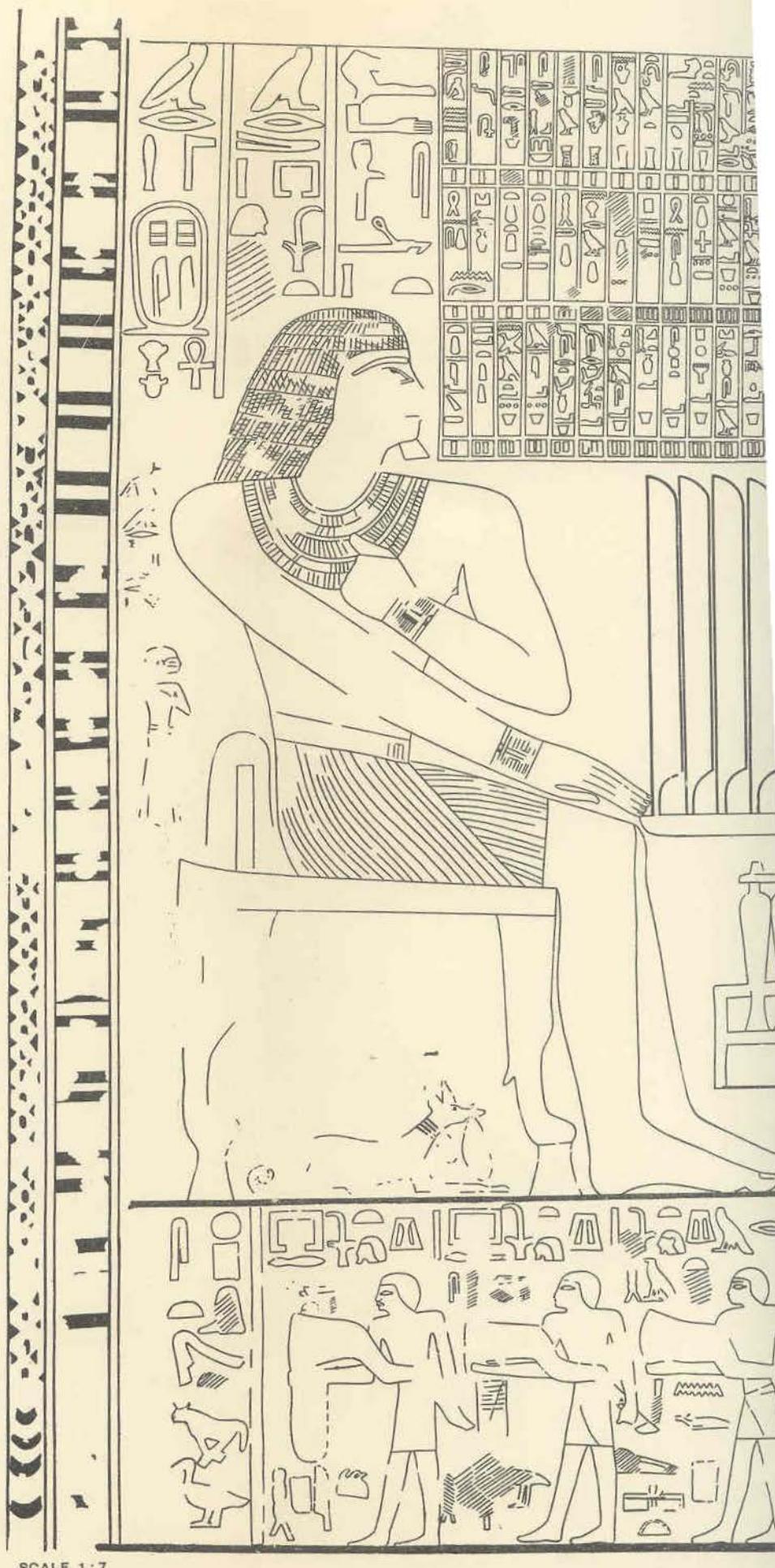
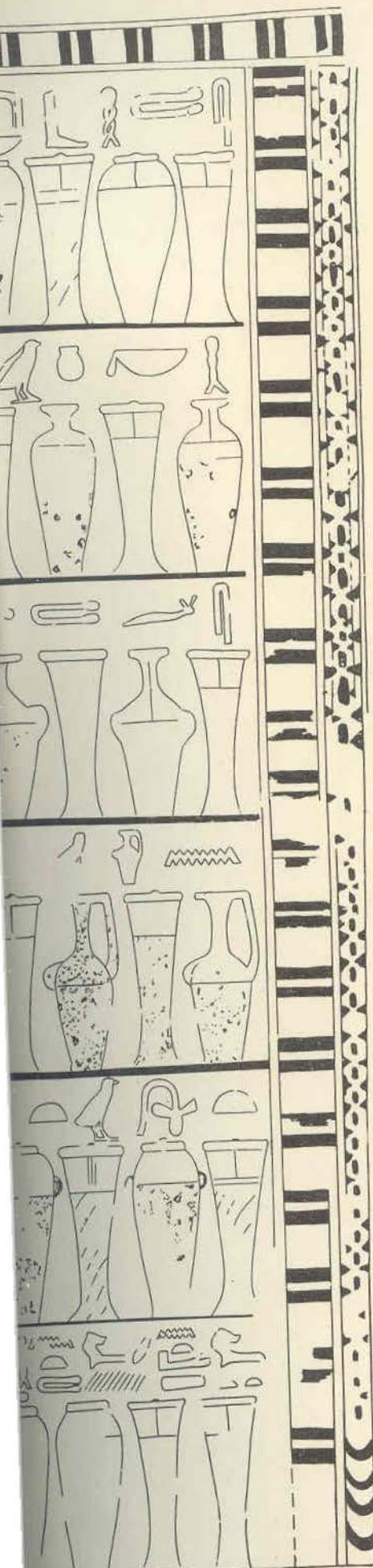
AMBER: SOUTH WALL OF RECESS.





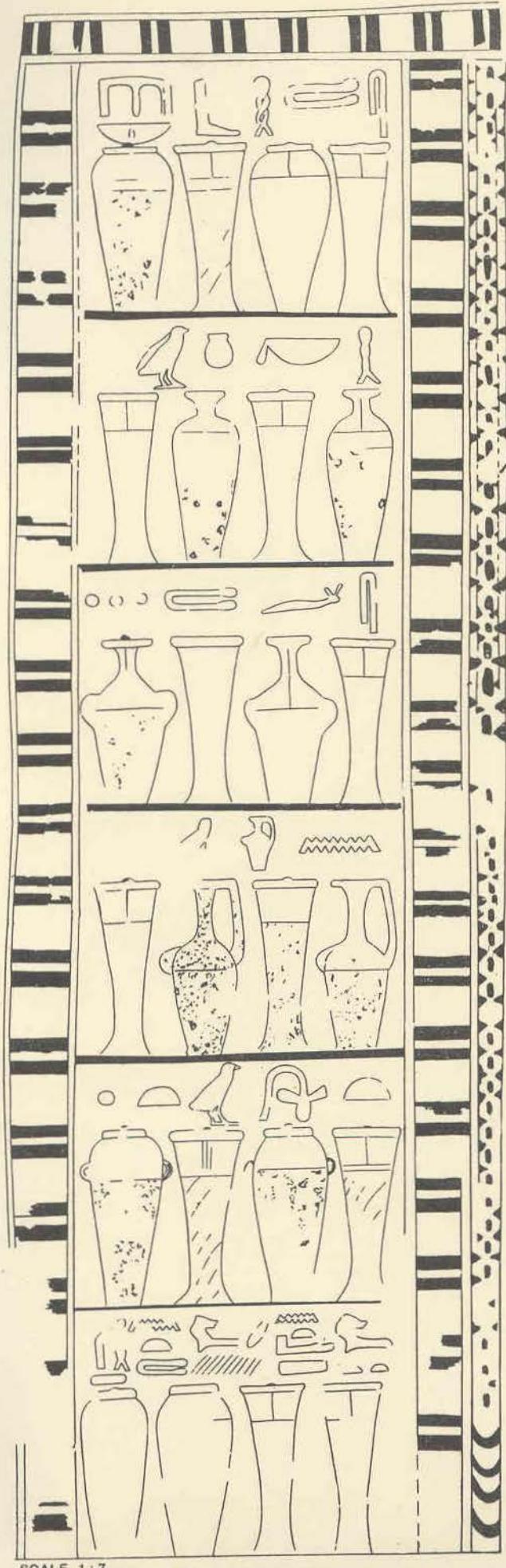


ROOM: NORTH WALL (10).

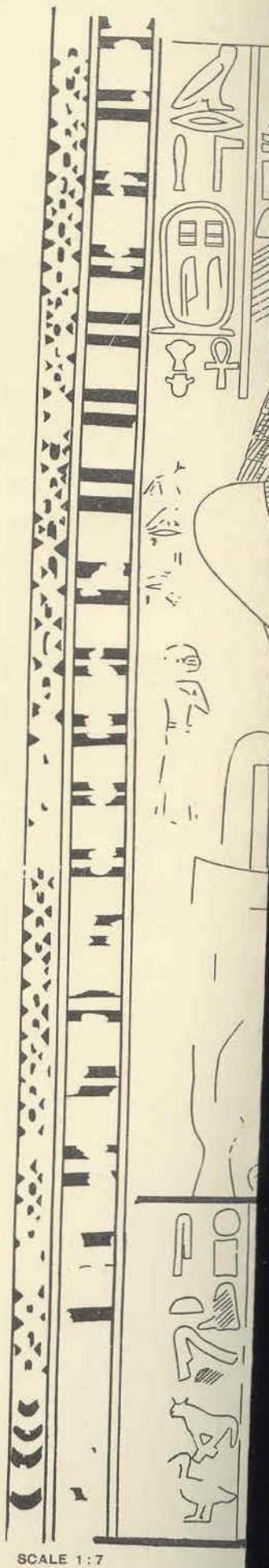


SCALE 1:7

ROOM: WEST WALL: NORTH
E OF FAÇADE-STELA (11).



MAIN ROOM: WEST WALL: NORTH
SIDE OF FAÇADE-STELA (11).



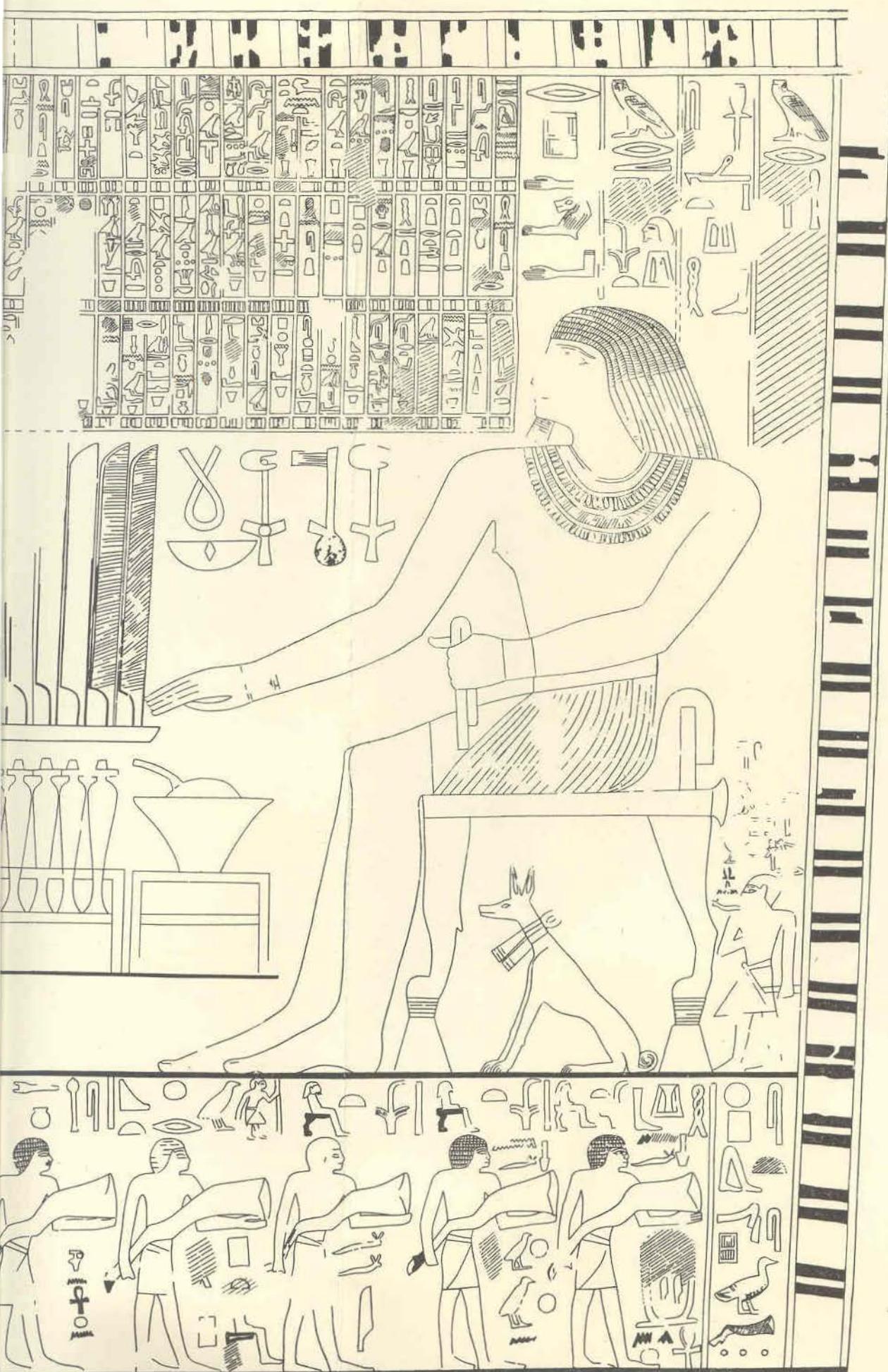


MAIN ROOM: NORTH WALL: TWO FEMALE HARPISTS AT WEST END OF REGISTER 4.



SCALE 1:6

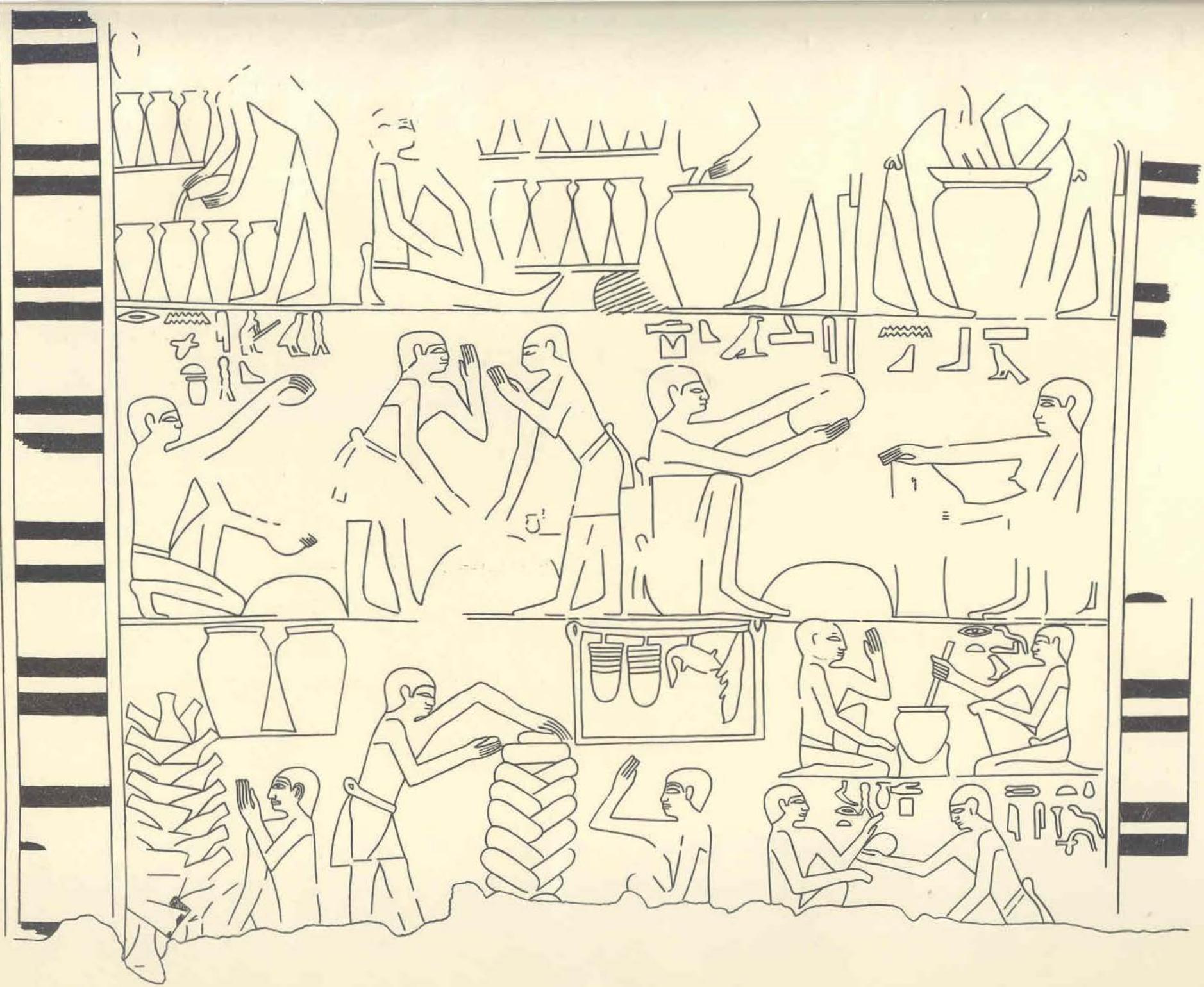
MAIN ROOM: WEST WALL: INSCRIPTIONS ON FAÇADE-STELA (12).





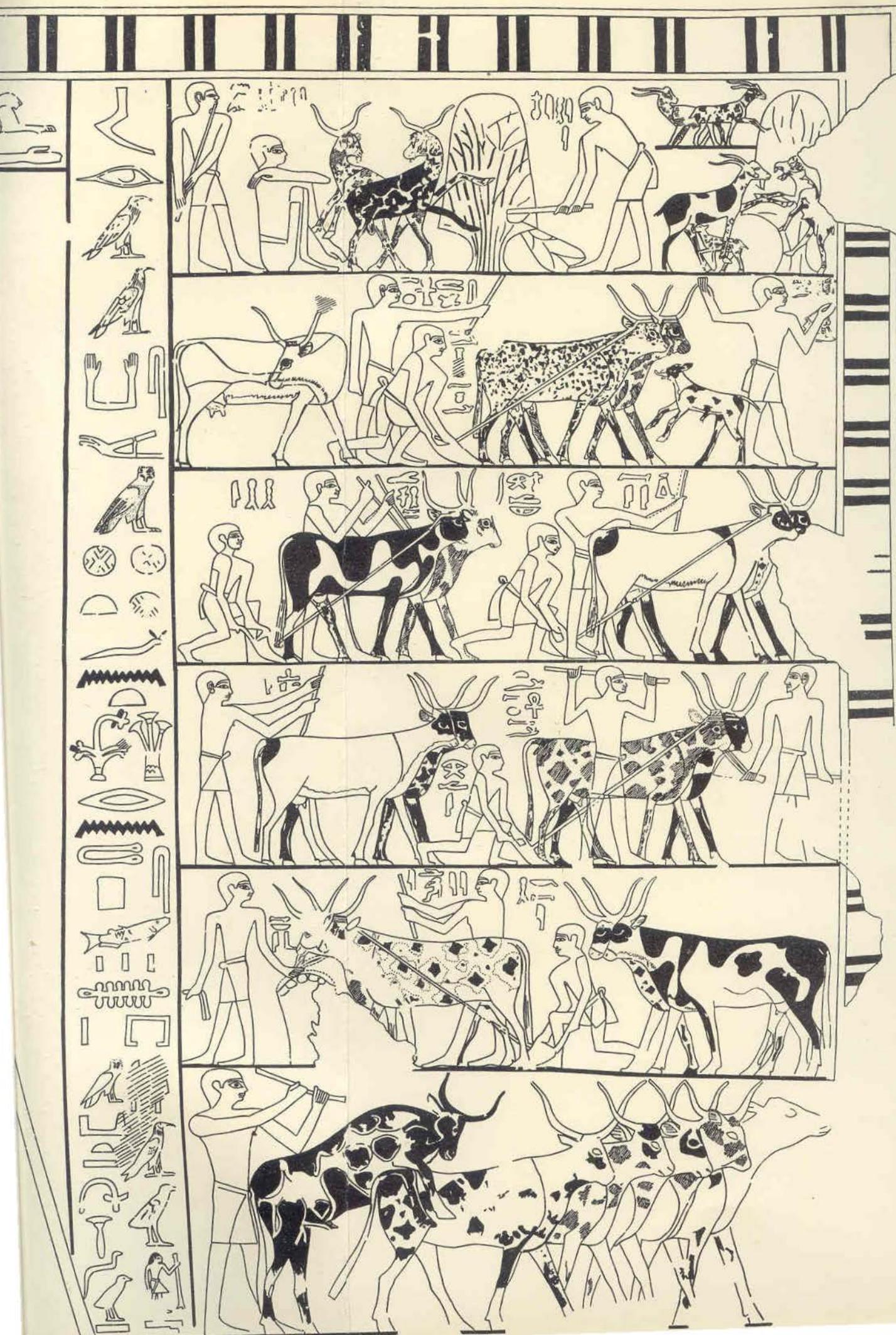
SCALE 1:7

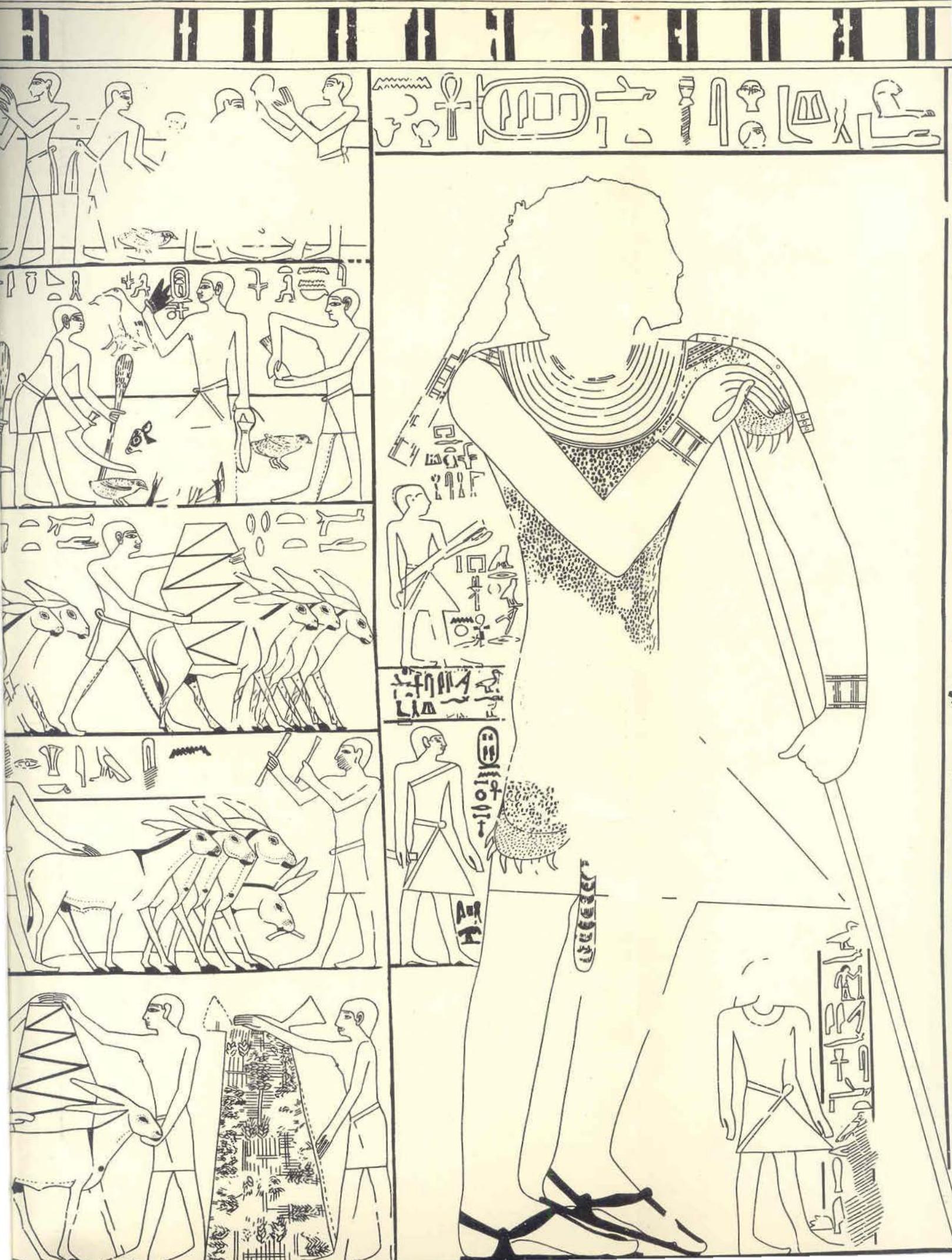
MAIN ROOM: WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE

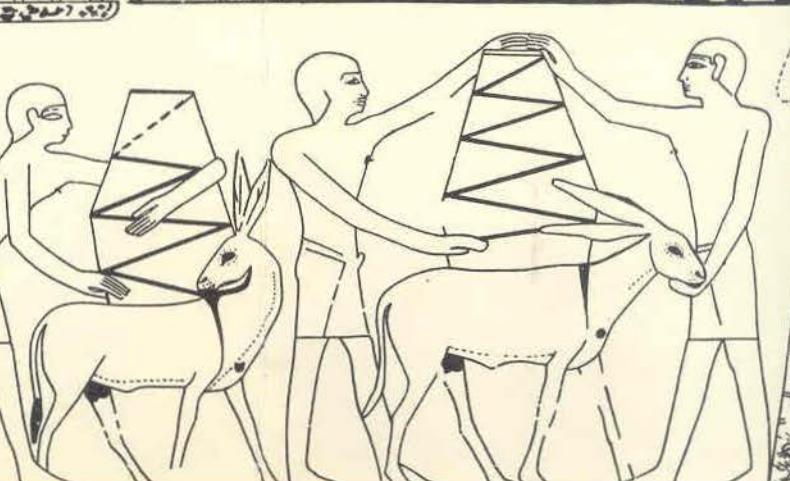
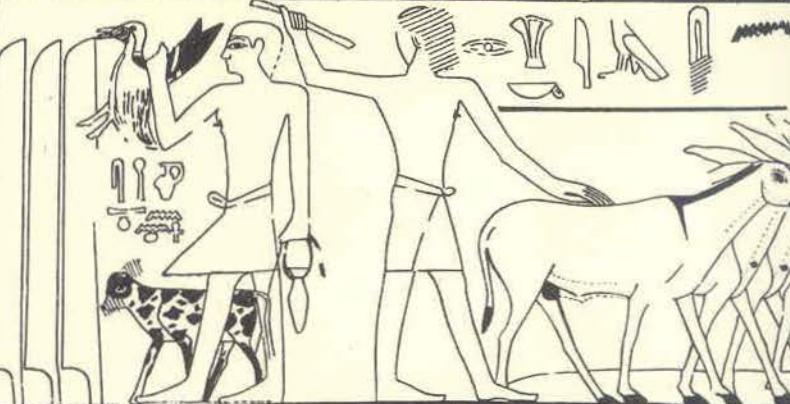
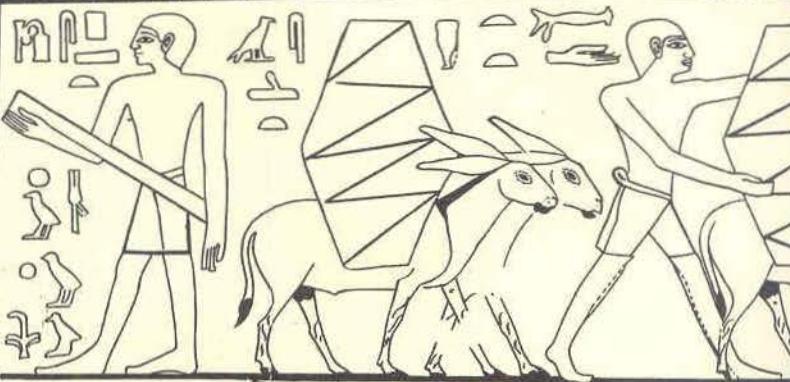
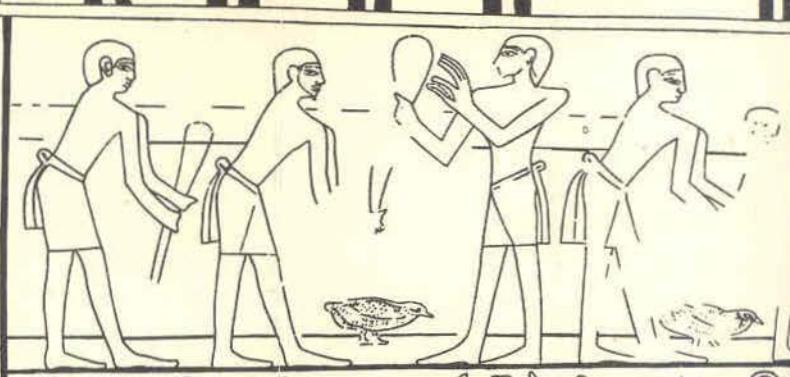
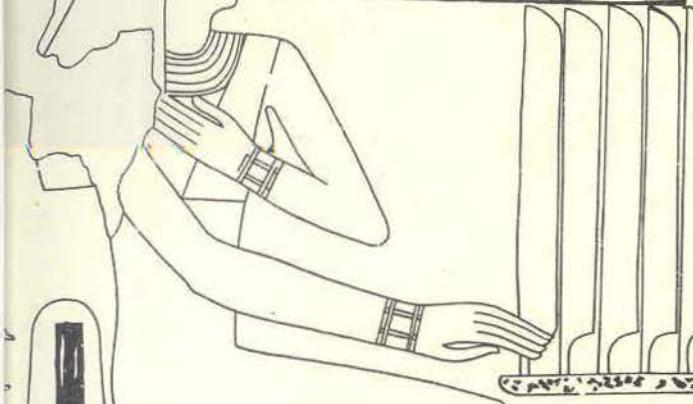
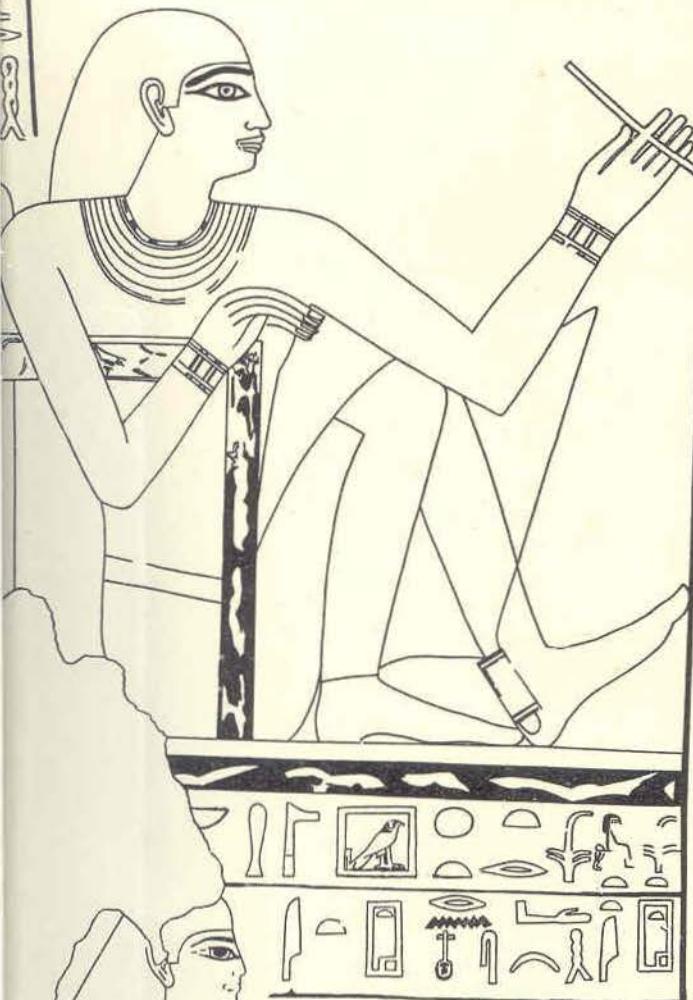
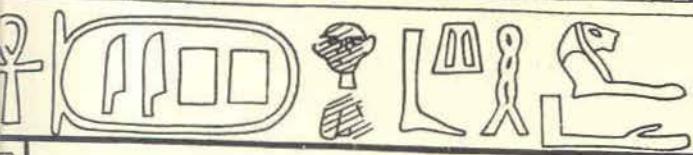


SCALE 1:4

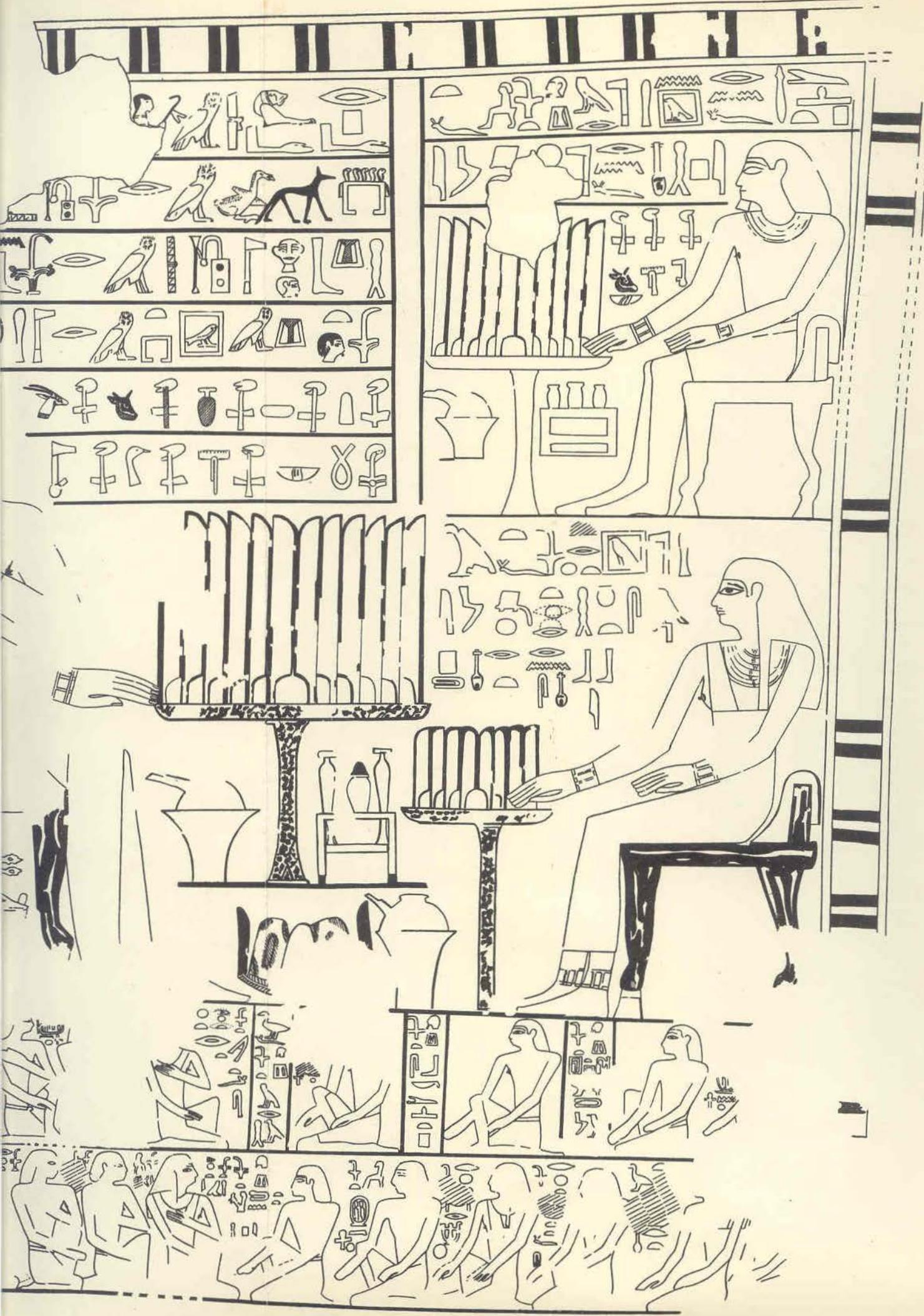
MAIN ROOM: WEST SIDE: NORTH OF DOORWAY ADMITTING TO INNER ROOM (14).

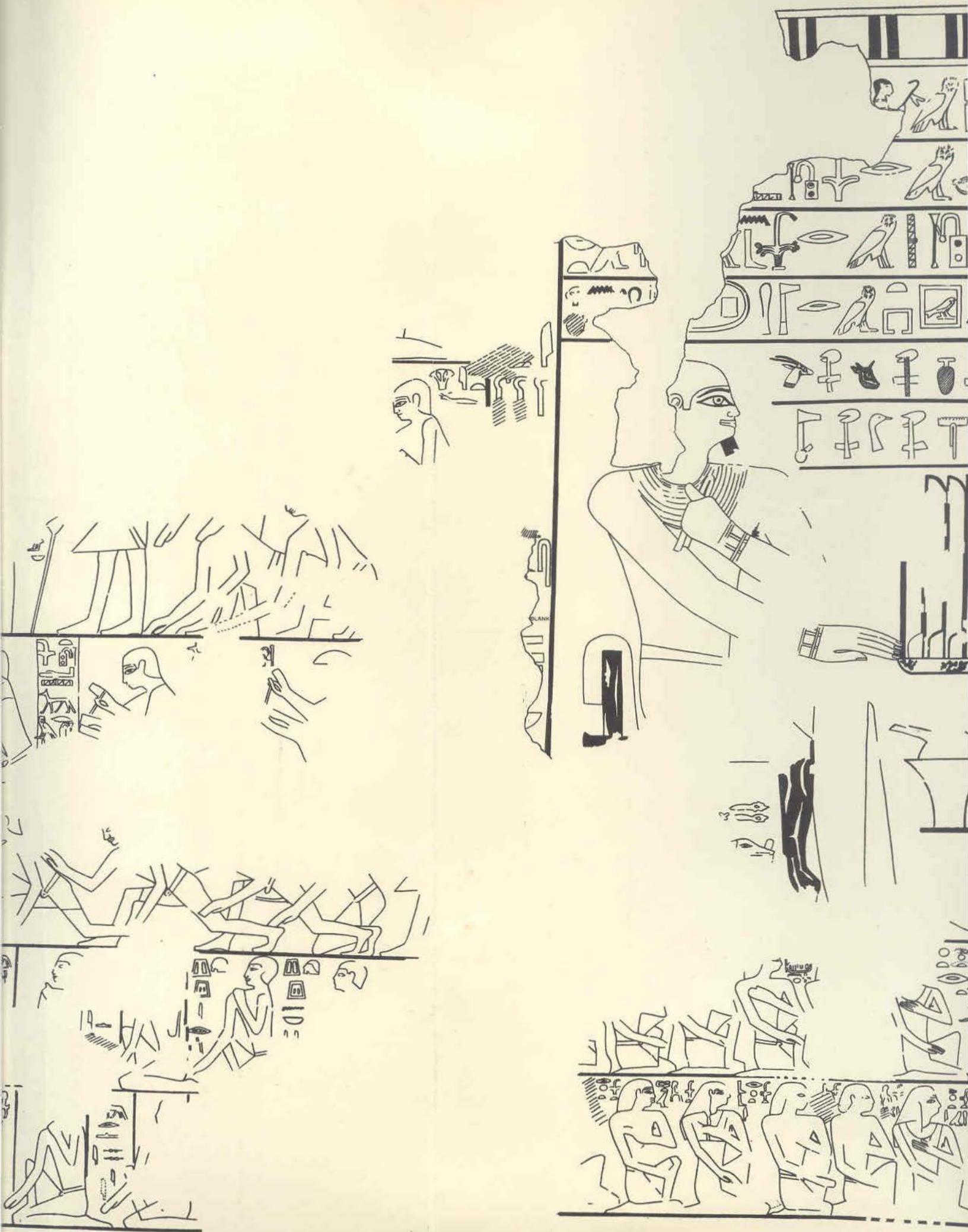


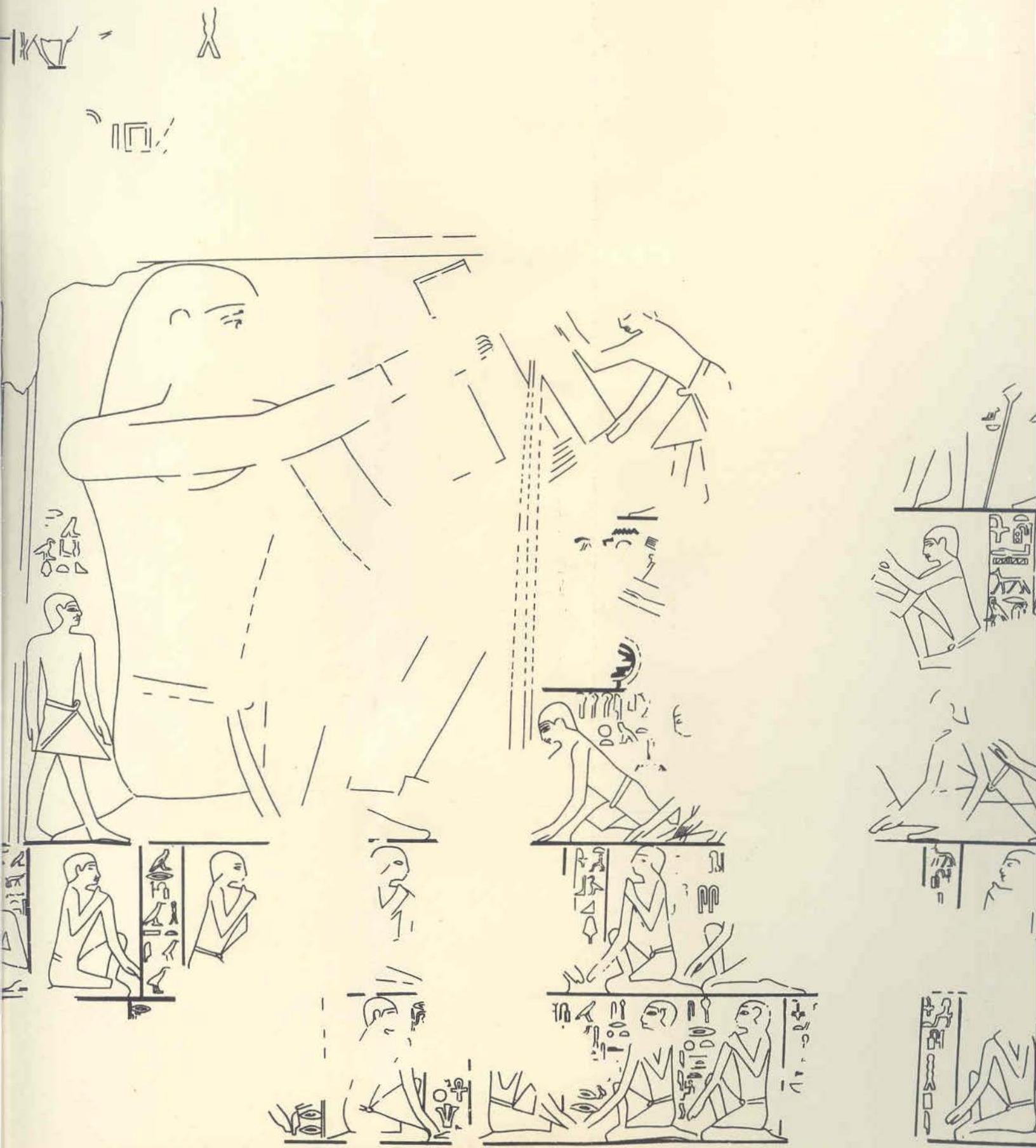


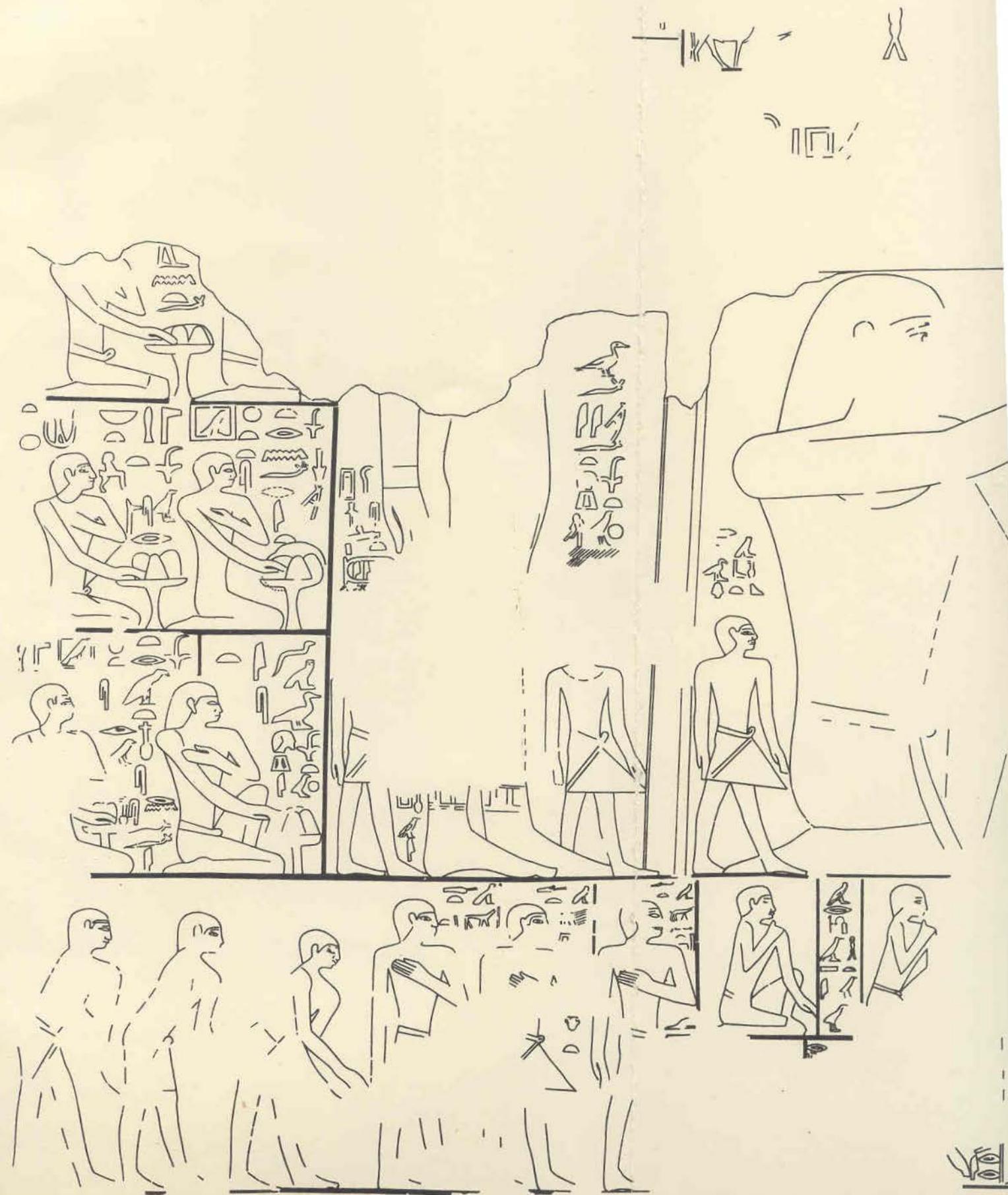


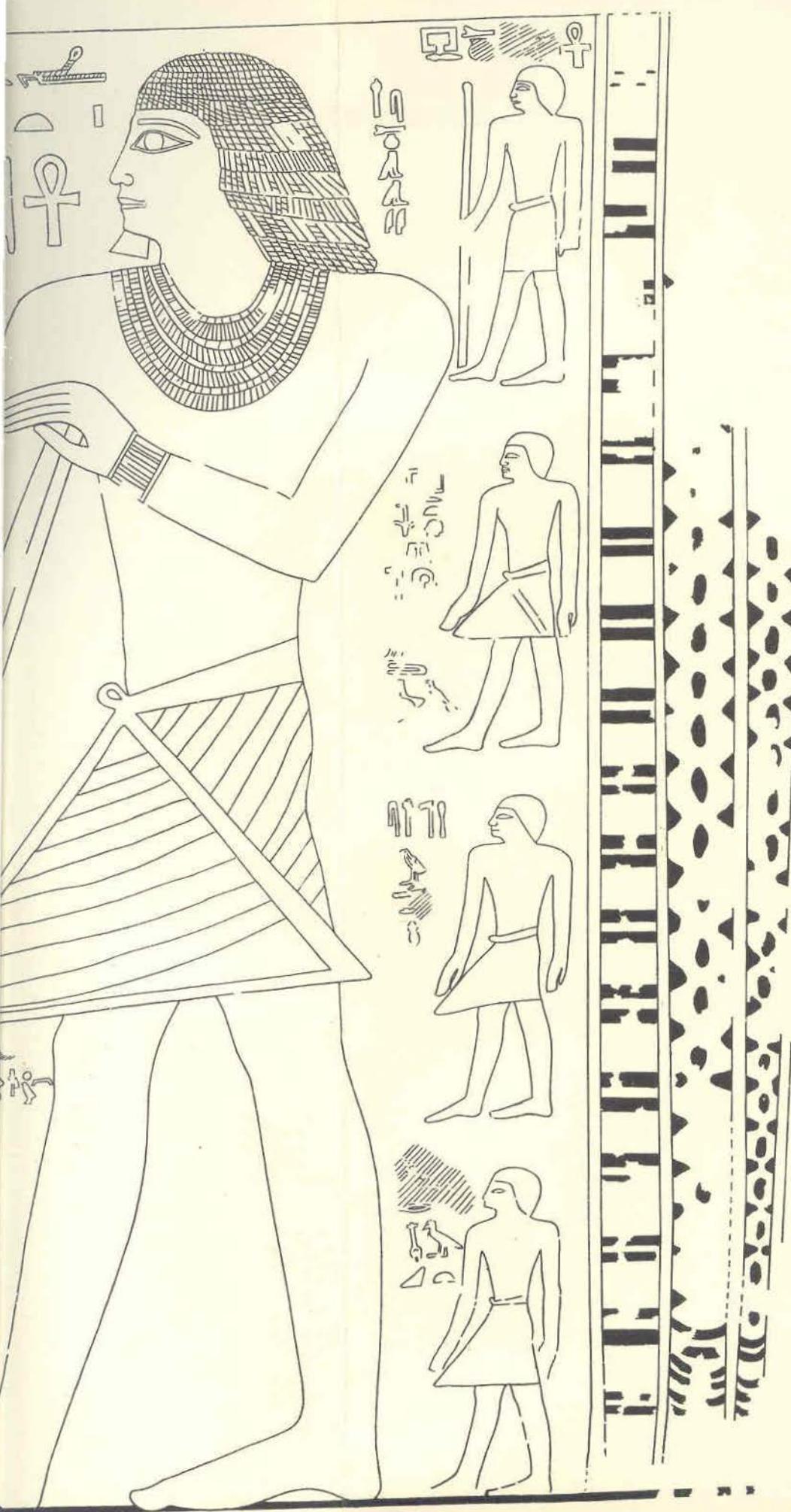


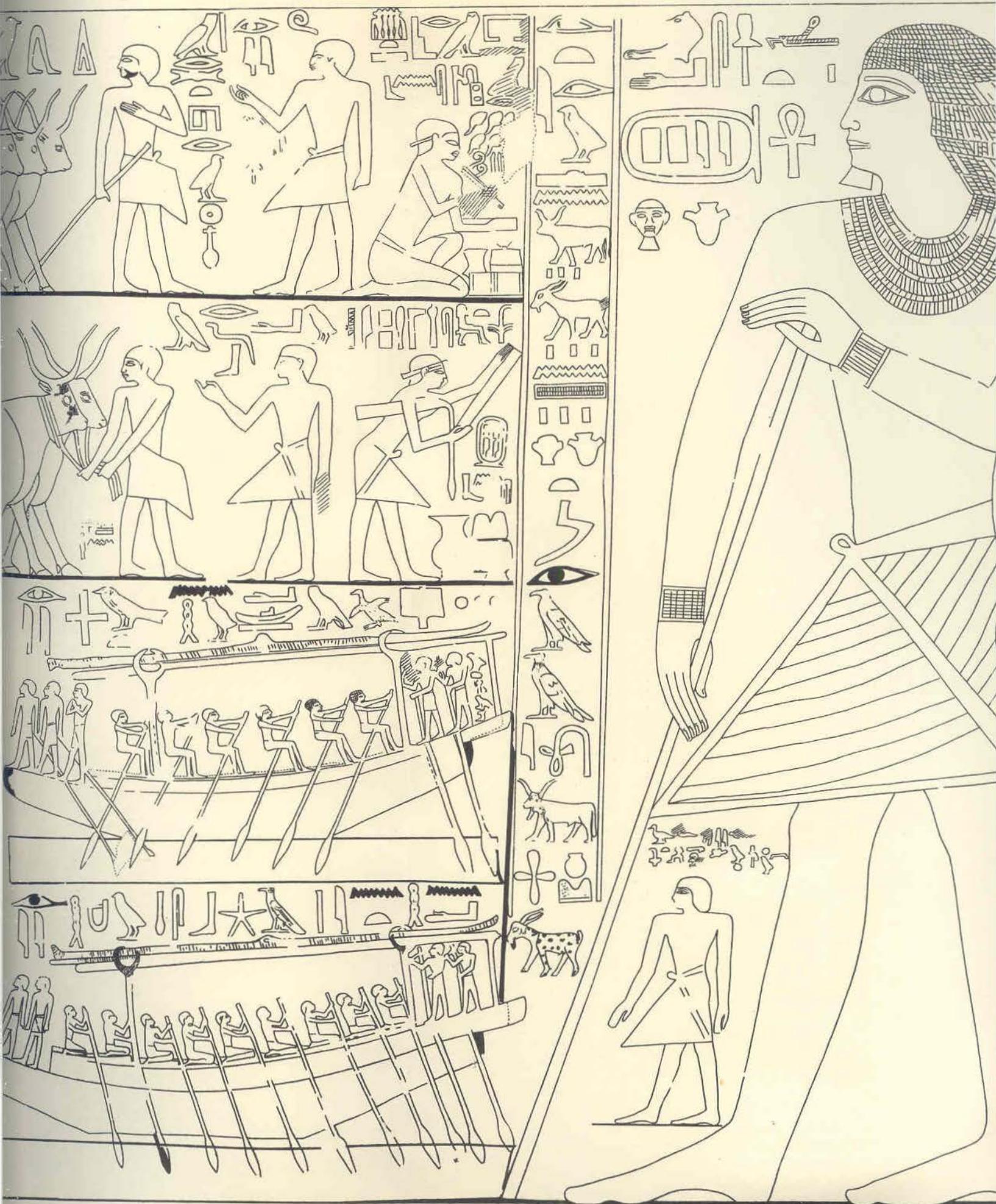


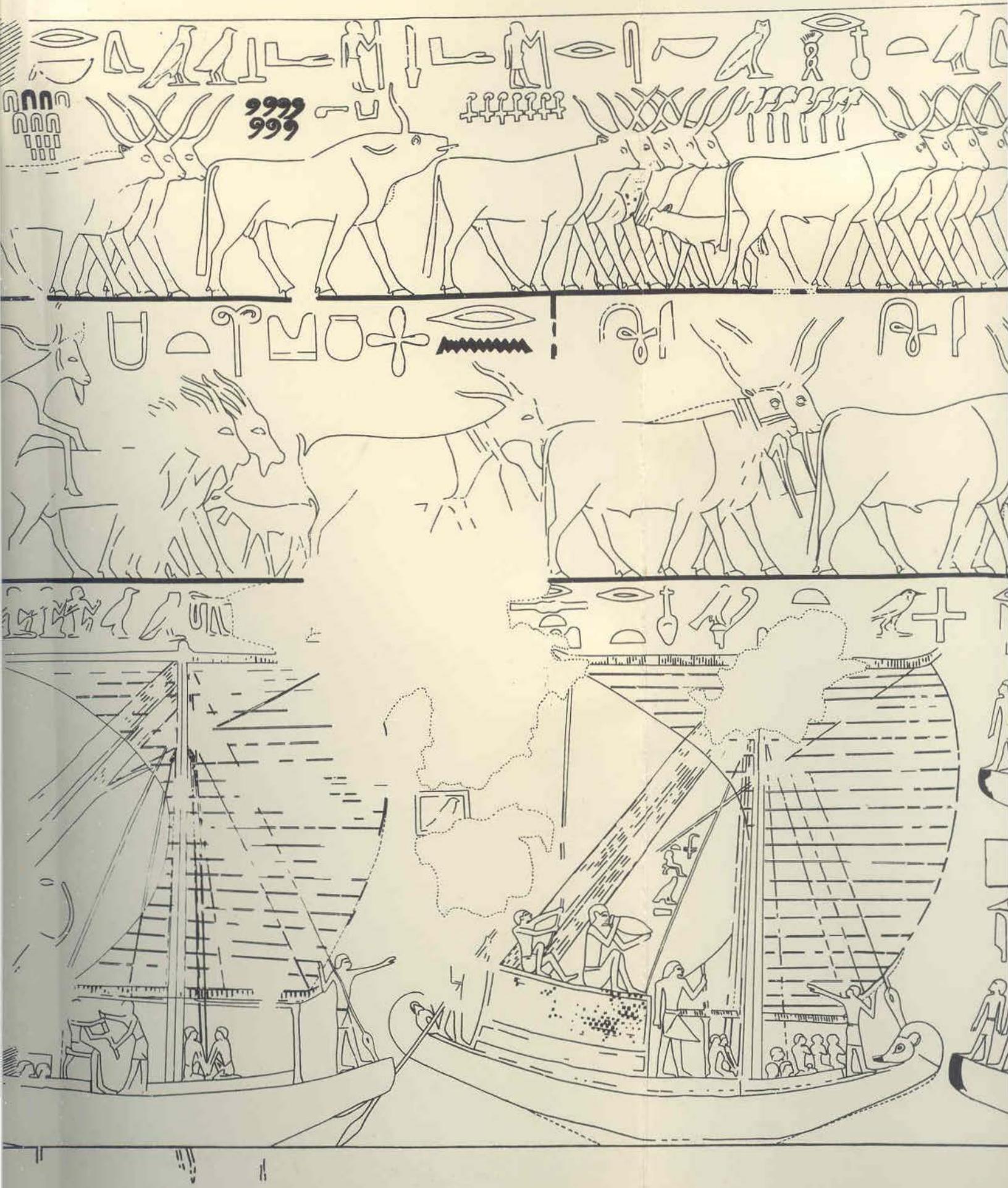


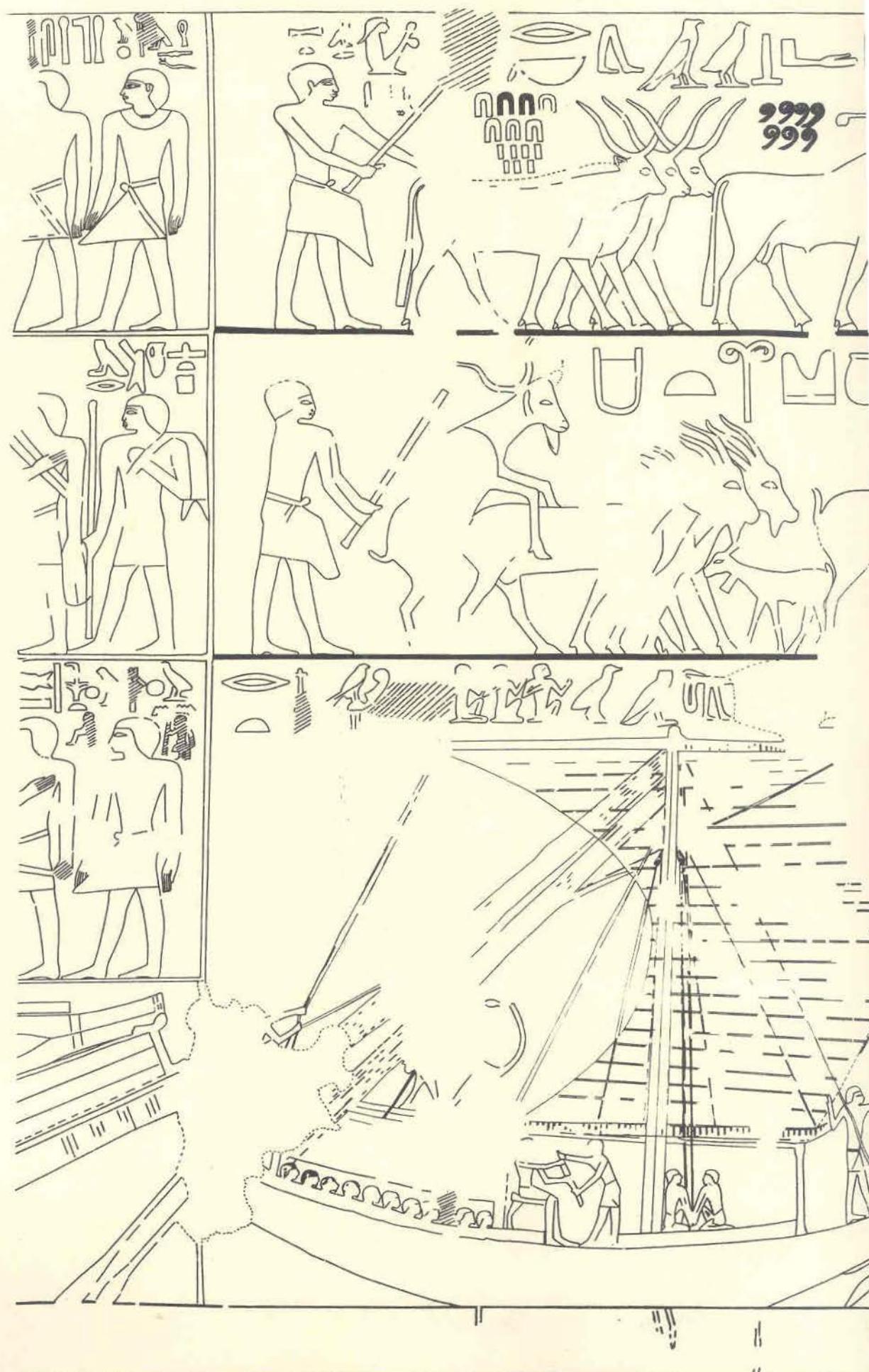


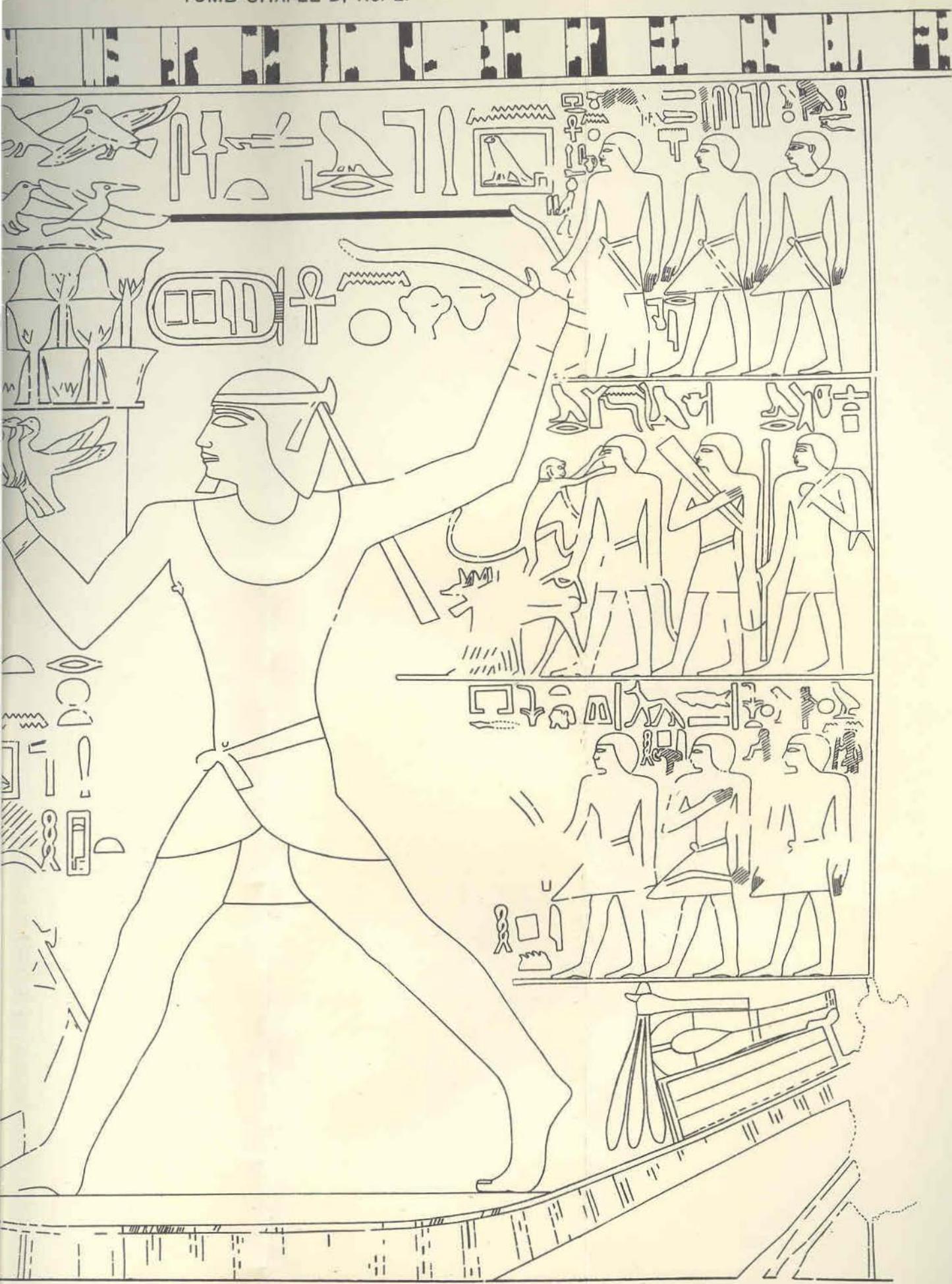


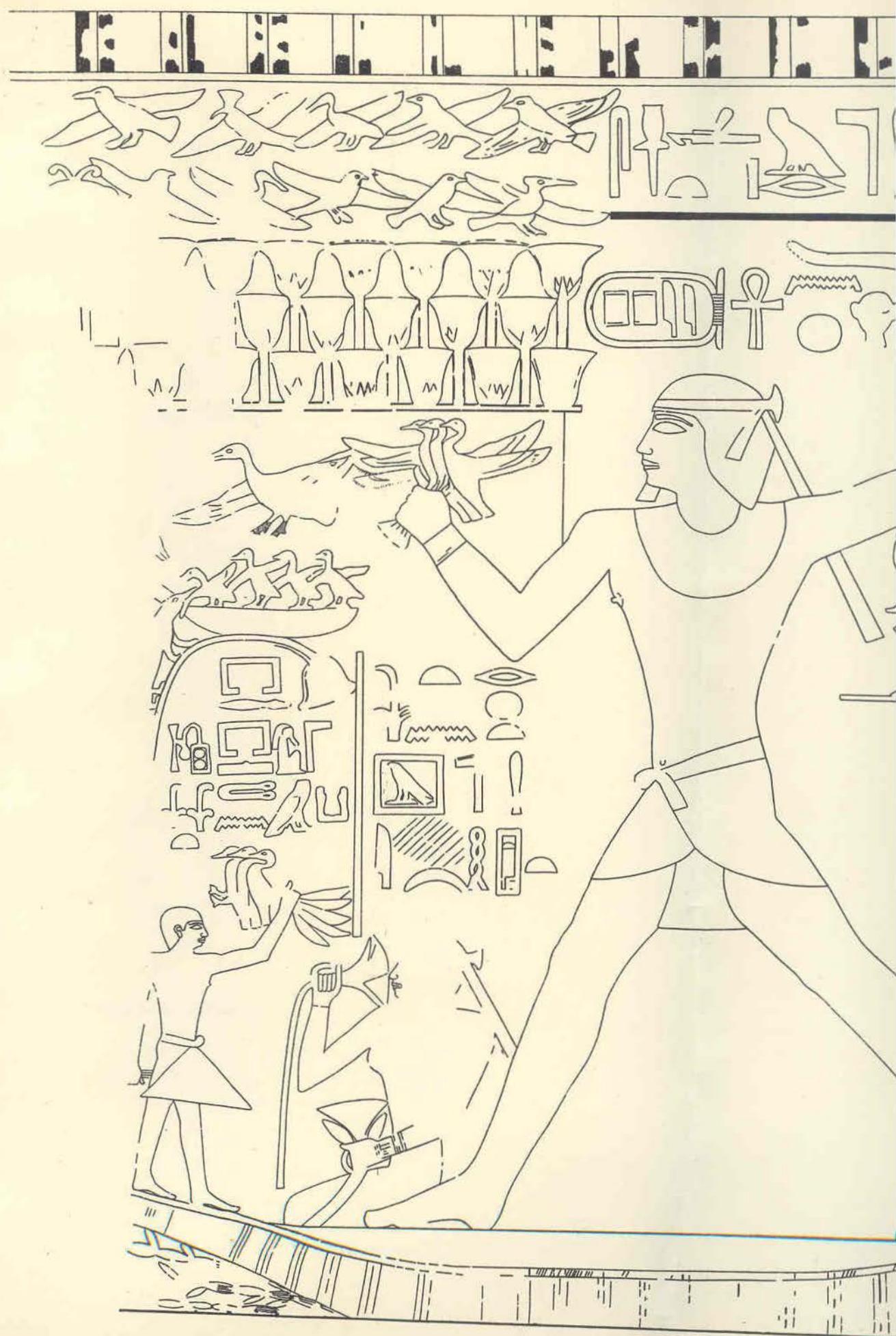


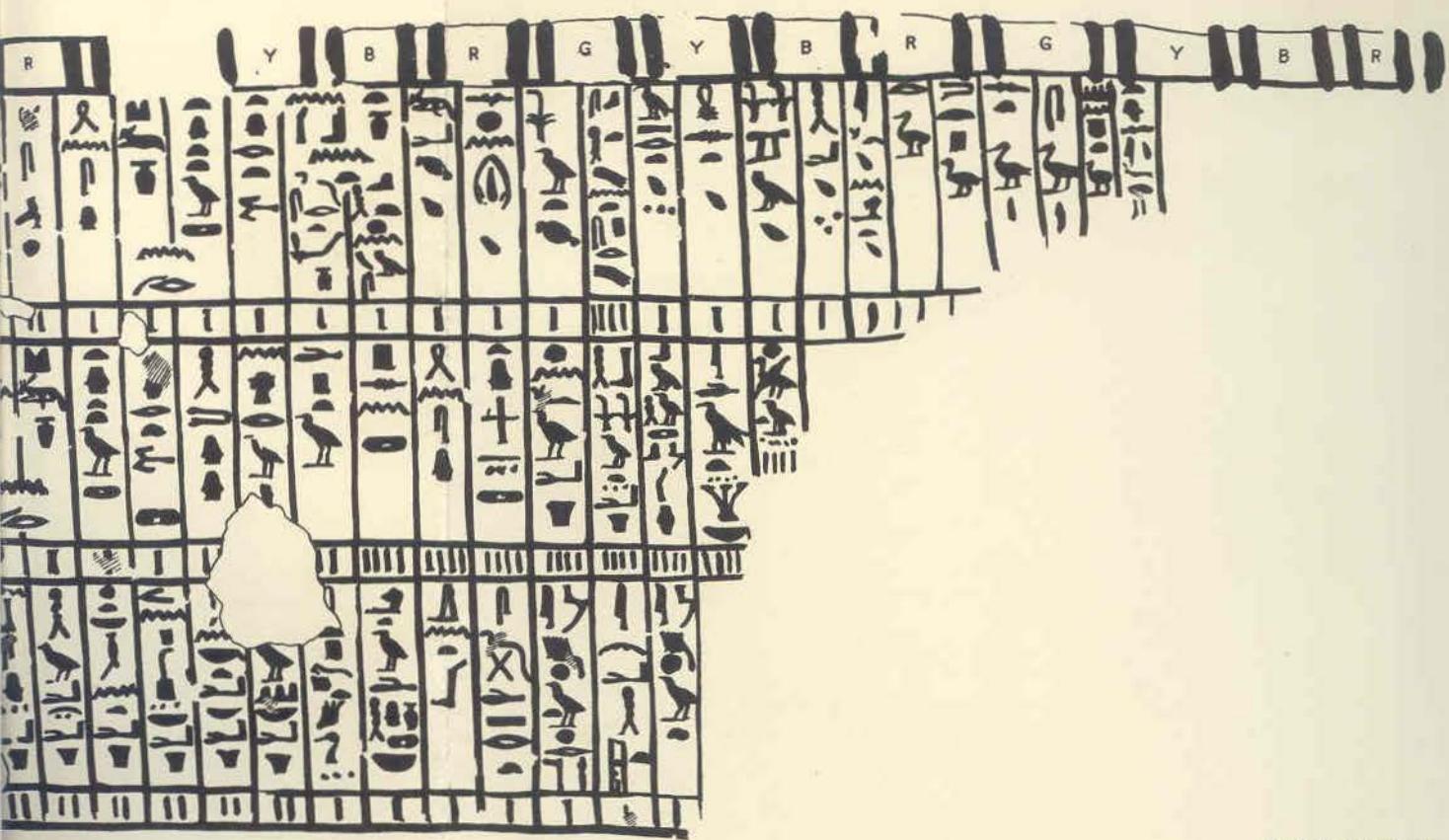






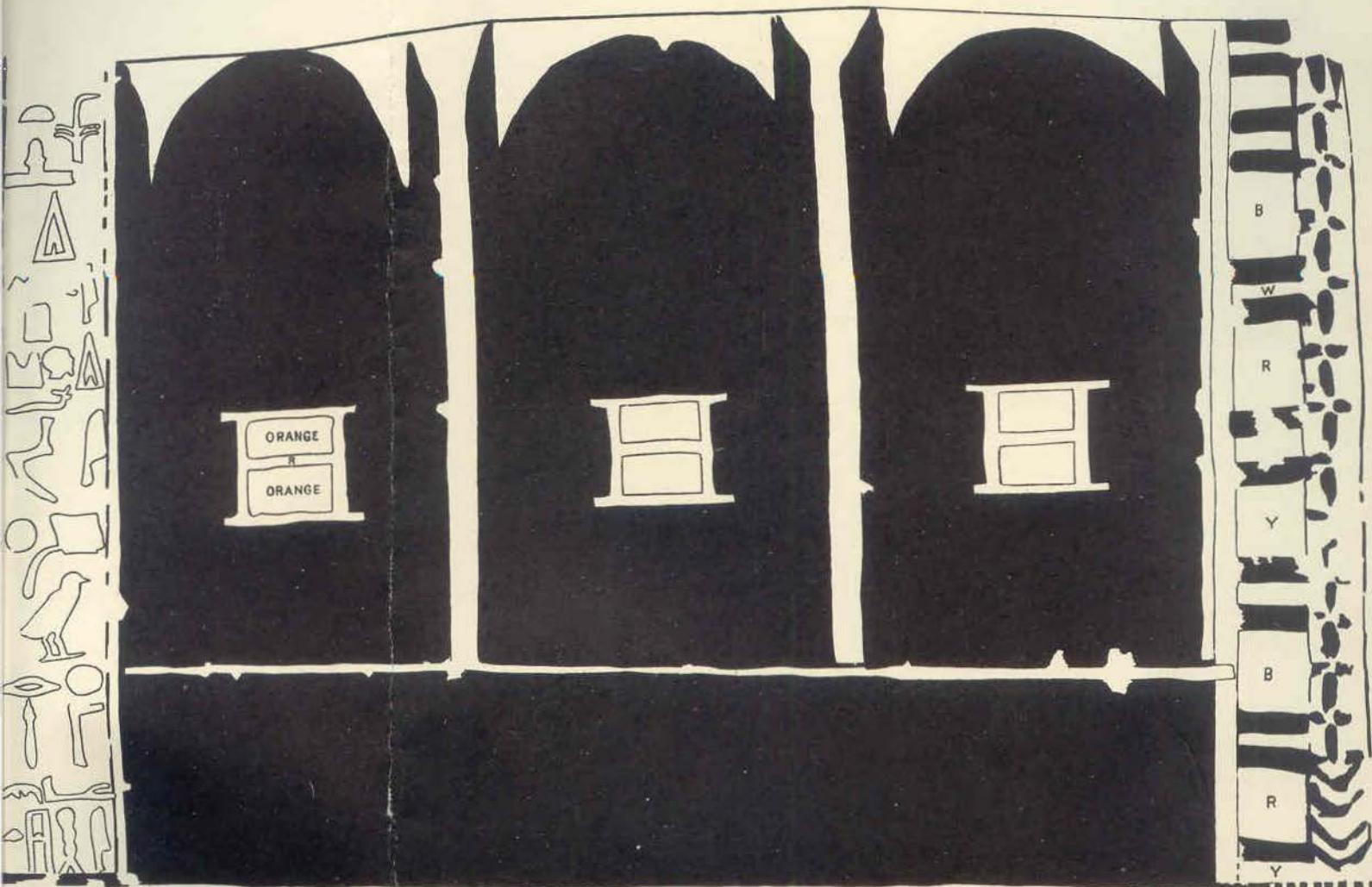






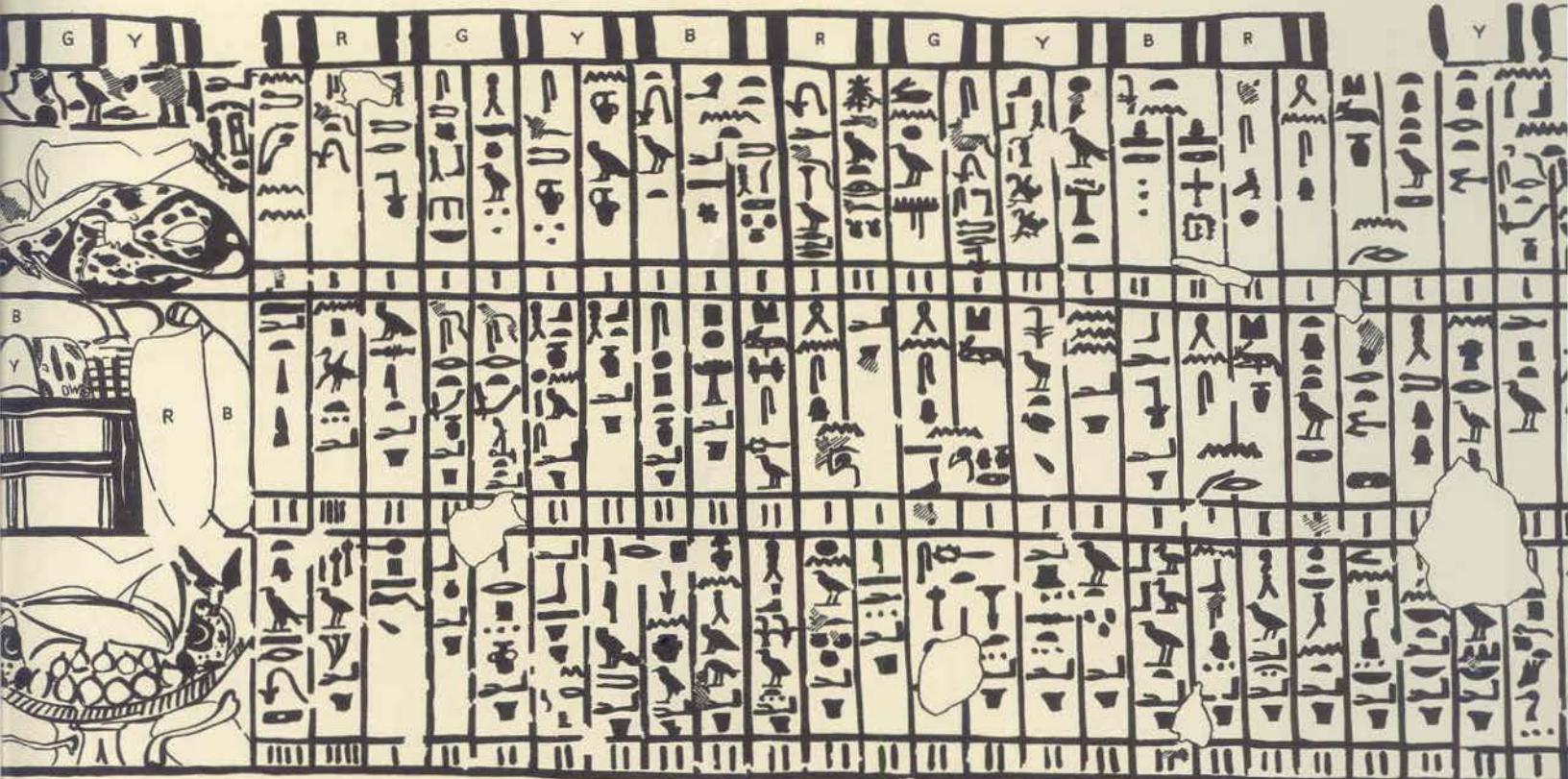
D. J. V. FORSTER

H HALF OF EAST WALL.



D. J. V. FORSTER

3. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: SOUTH WALL OF RECESS.



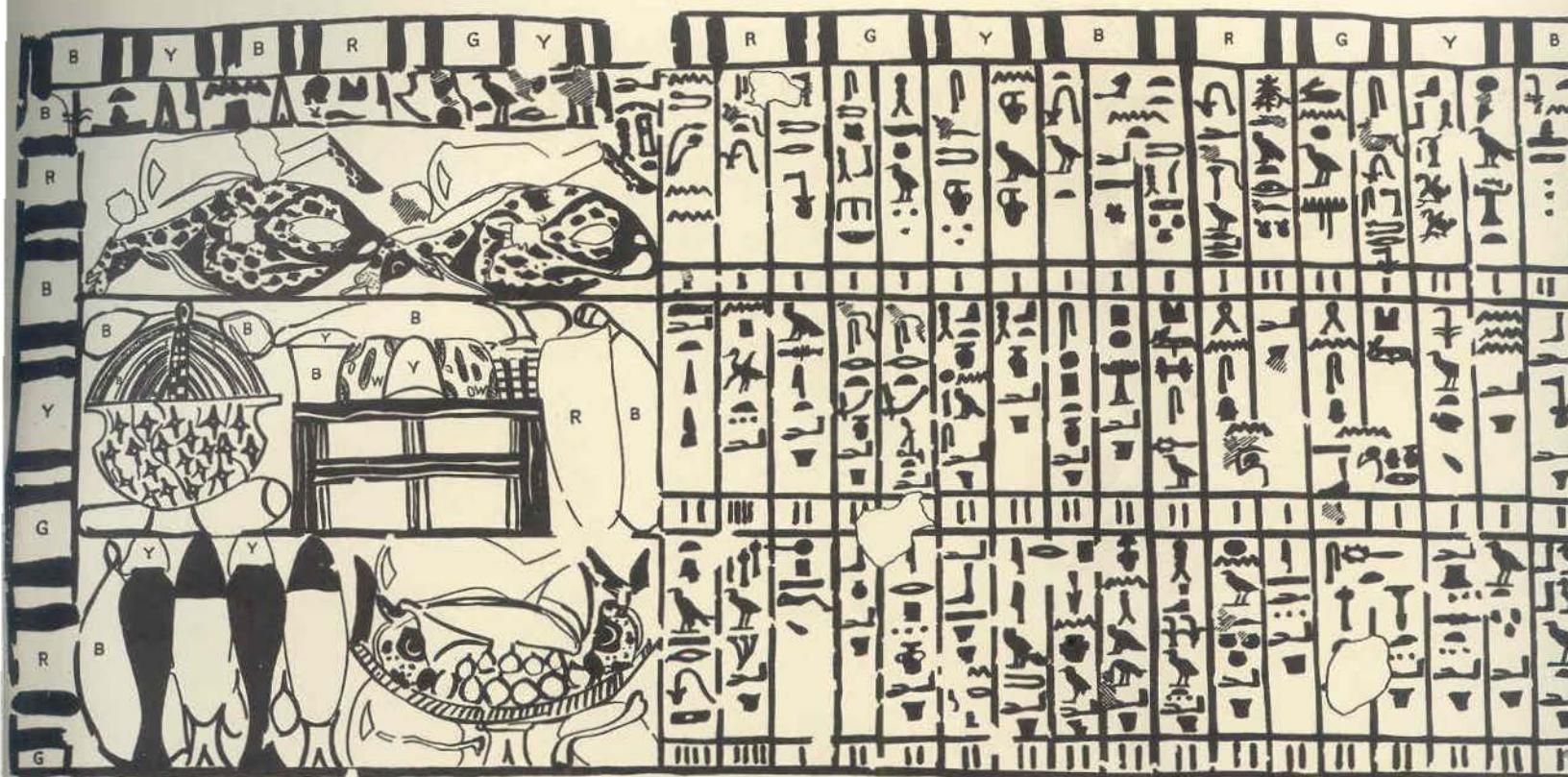
1. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: NORTH HALF OF EAST WALL.



CHAMBER: SOUTH WALL OF RECESS.

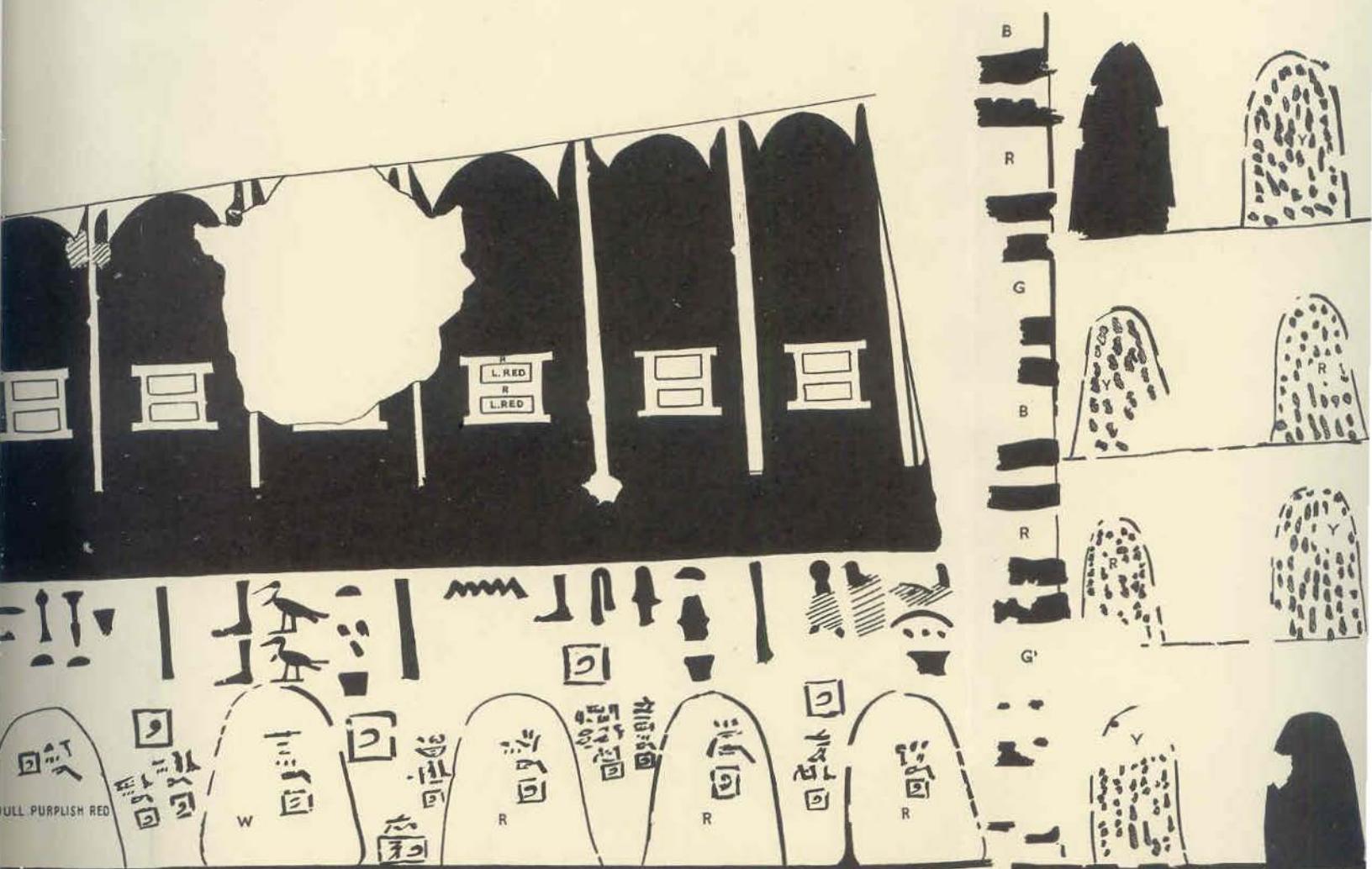
SCALE 1:6

3. SOUTH BURI



SCALE 1:6

1. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: NO



ULL PURPLISH RED

W

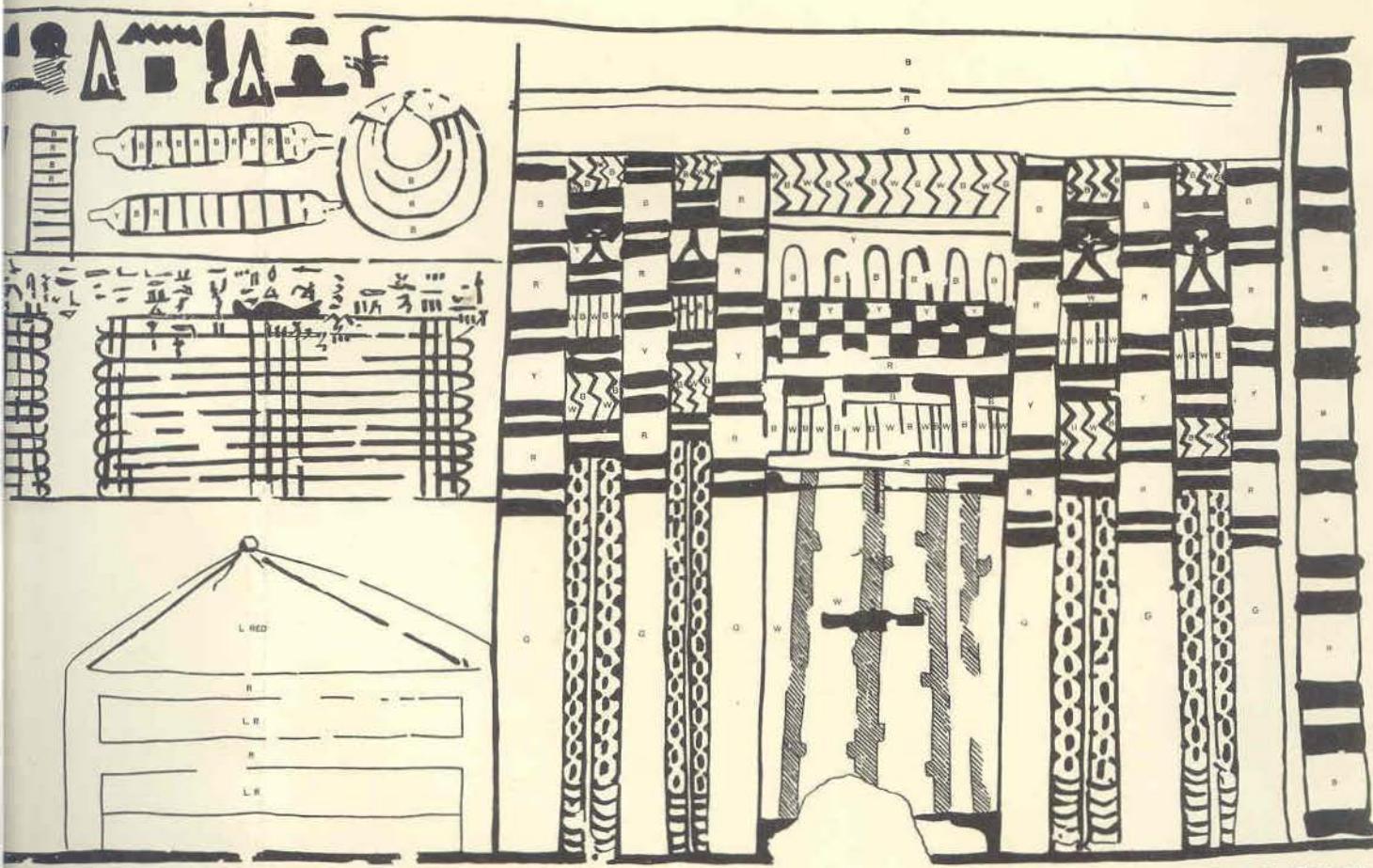
R

R

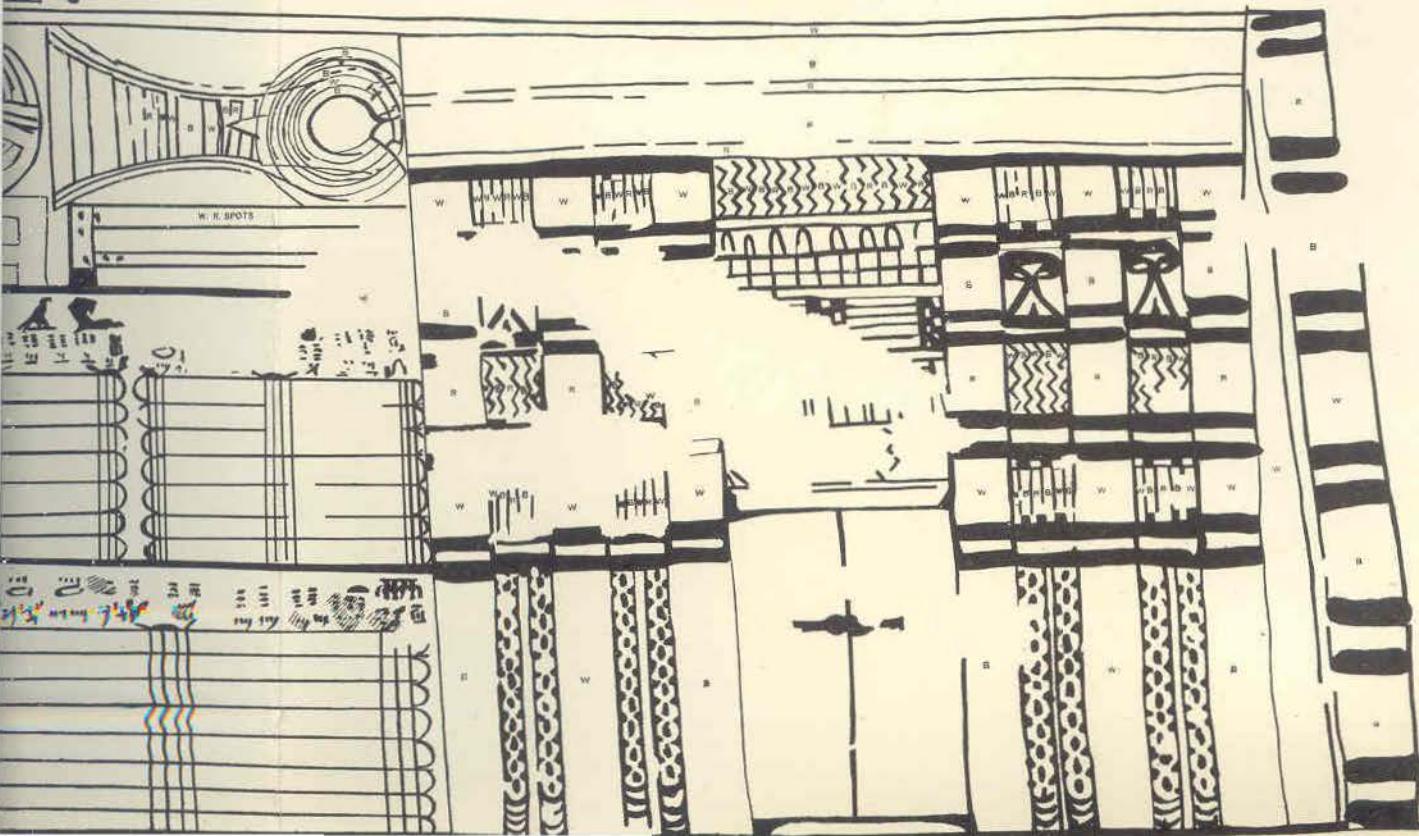
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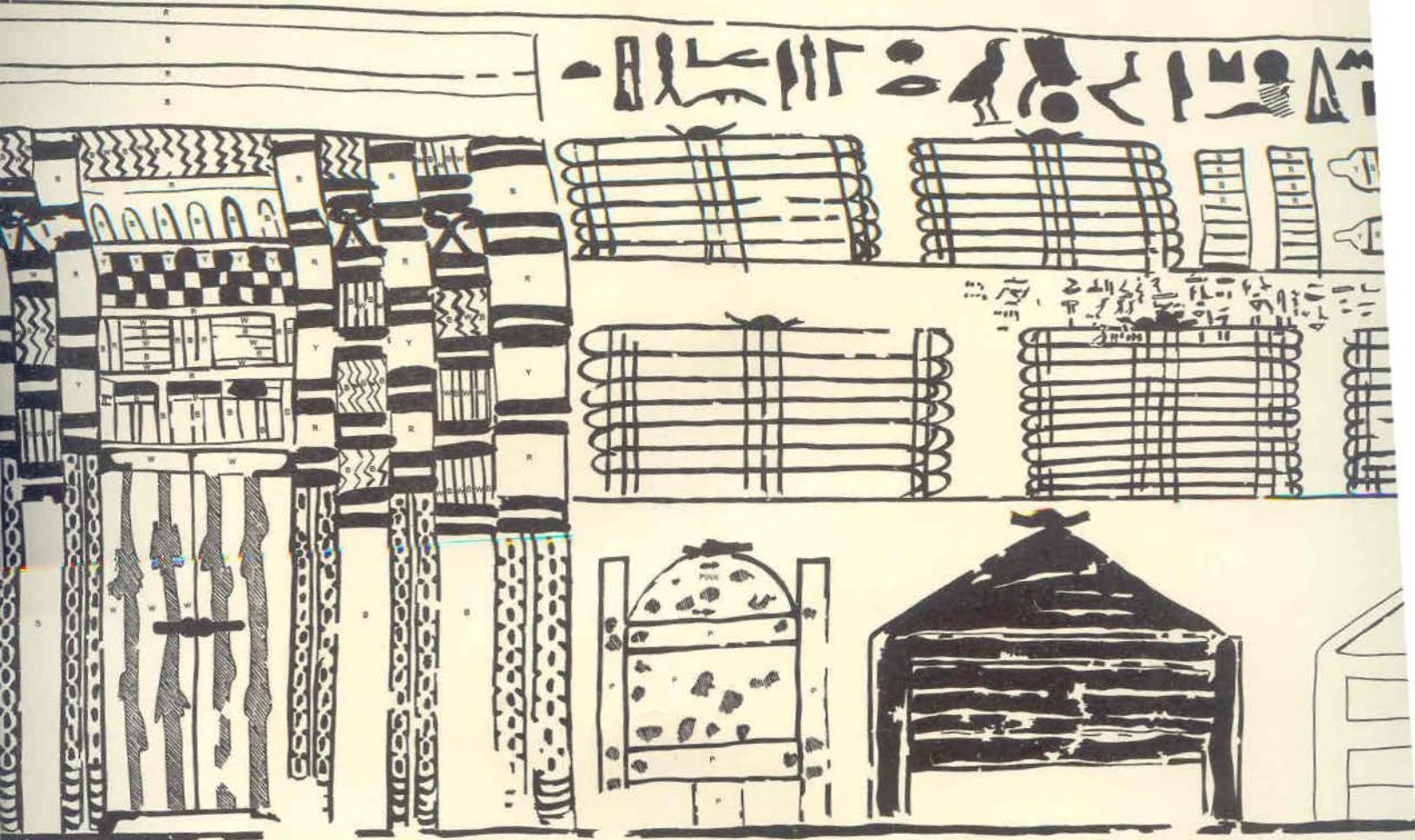
2. NORTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: SOUTH WALL OF RECESS.

SCALE 1:6

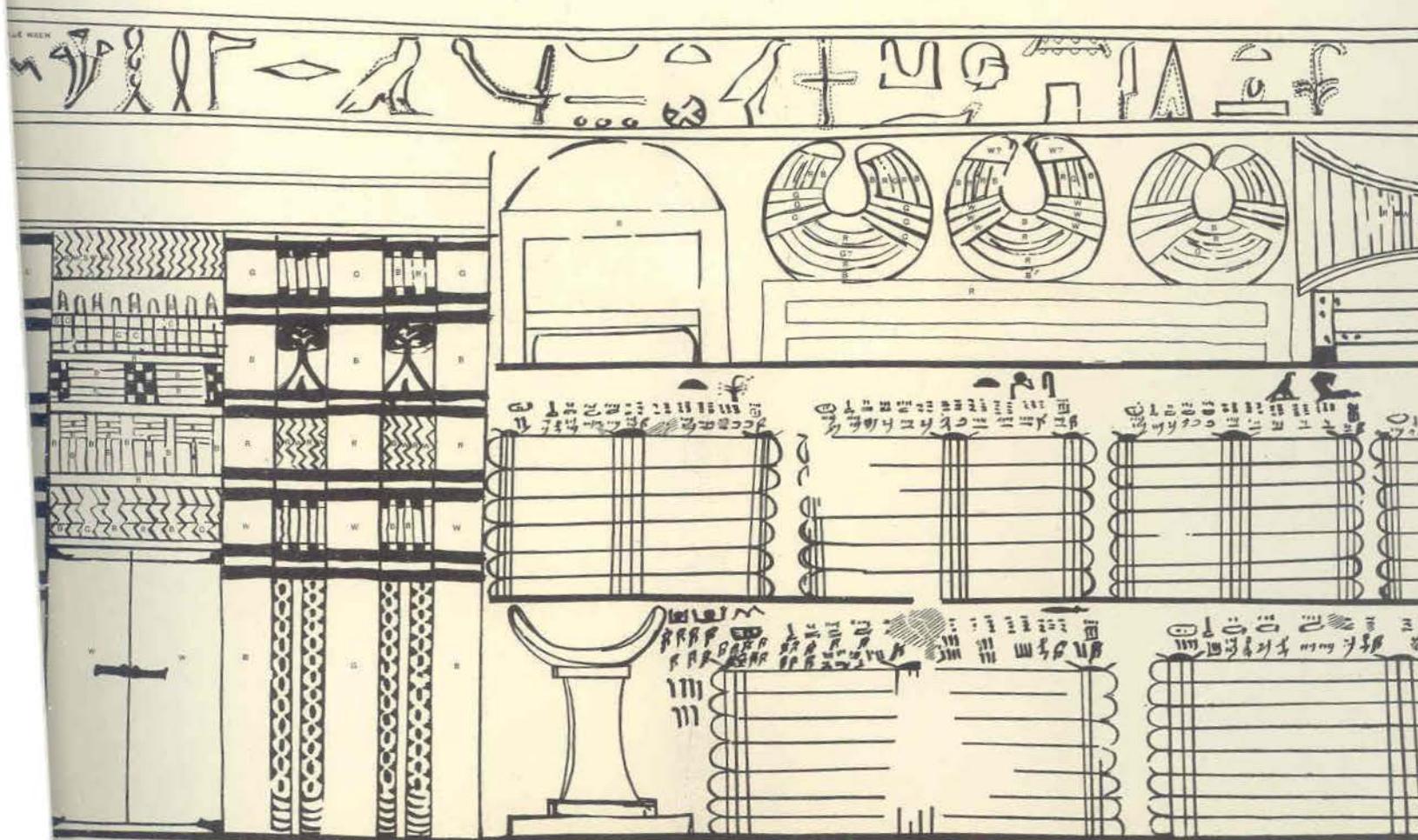


LL OF RECESS.

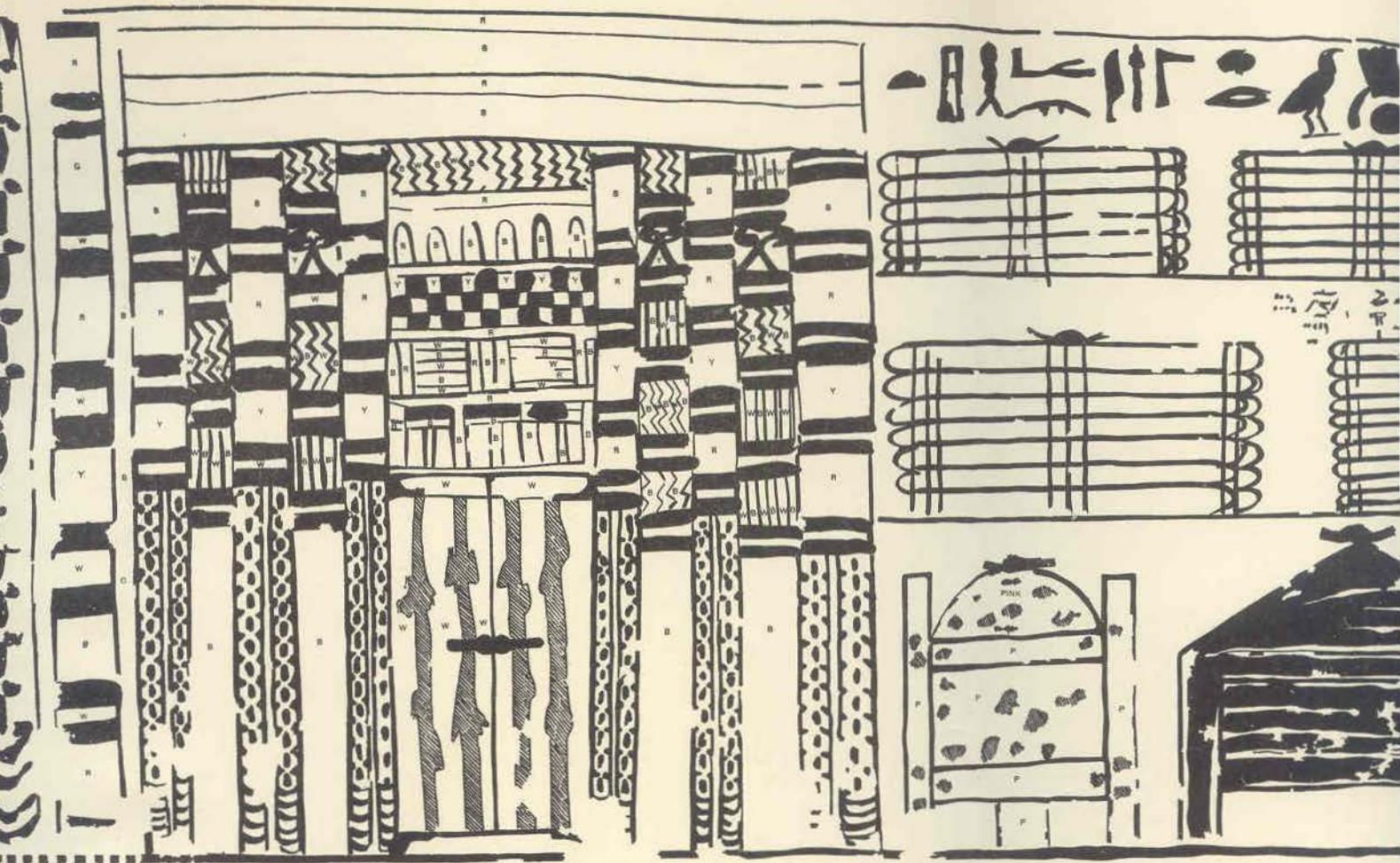




1. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: WEST WALL OF RECESSION
(SEE PLATE XXV, 2).

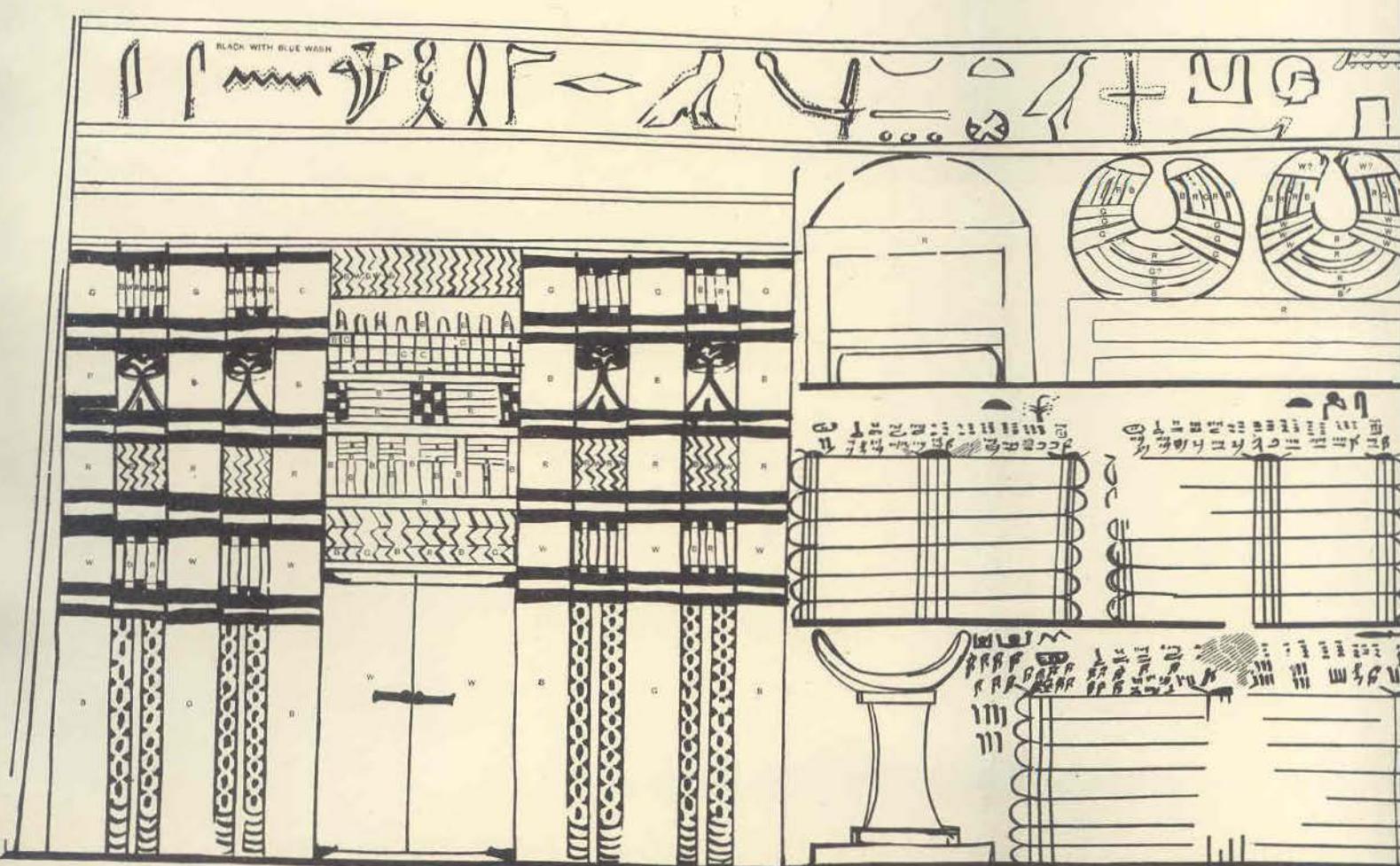


2. NORTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: WEST WALL



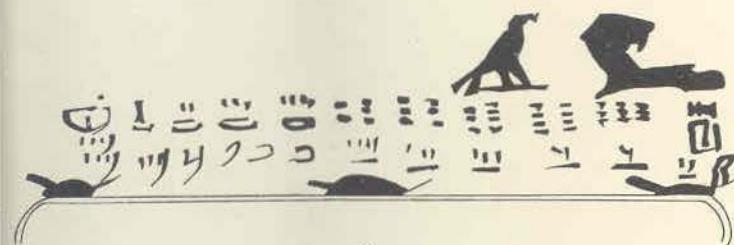
SCALE 1:8

1. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER
(SEE PLATE)

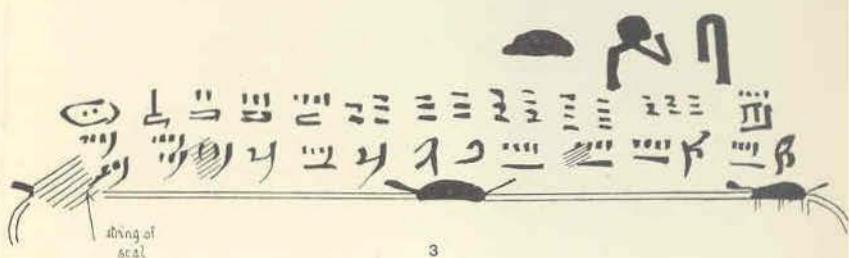


SCALE 1:6

2. NORTH BURIAL-CHAMBER
(SEE PLATE)



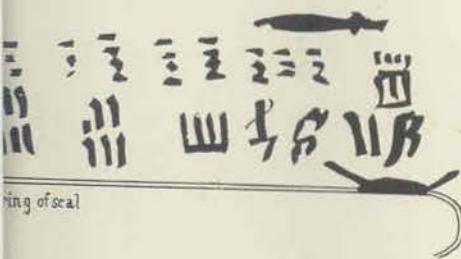
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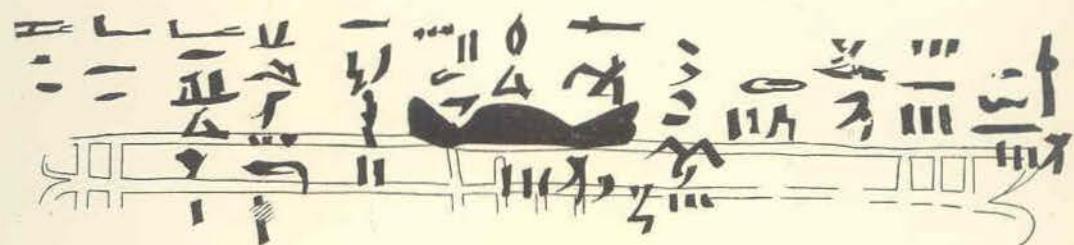
3



5



string of seal



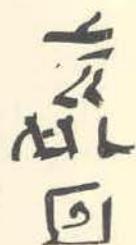
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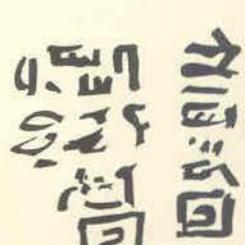
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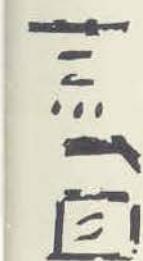
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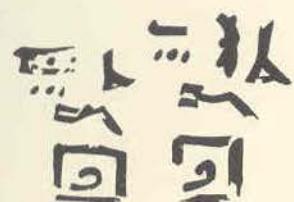
11



12



15



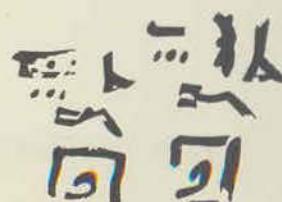
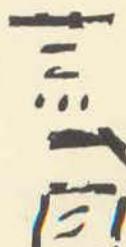
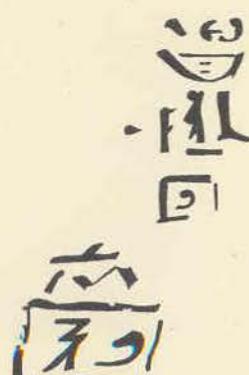
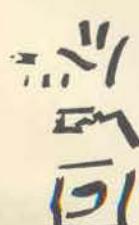
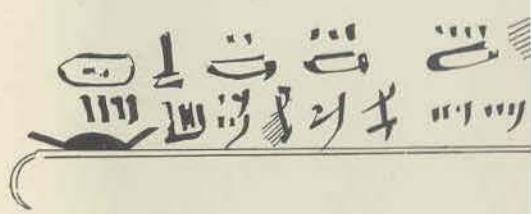
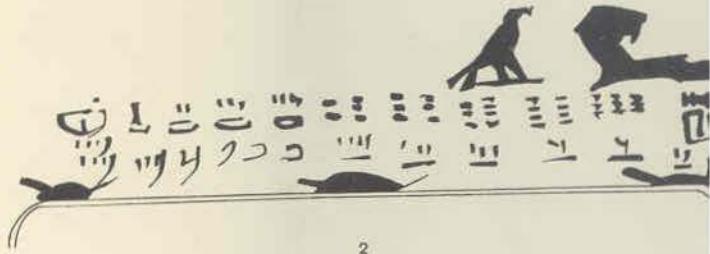
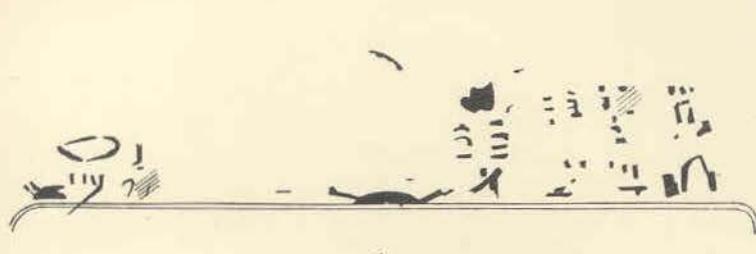
16



17



18

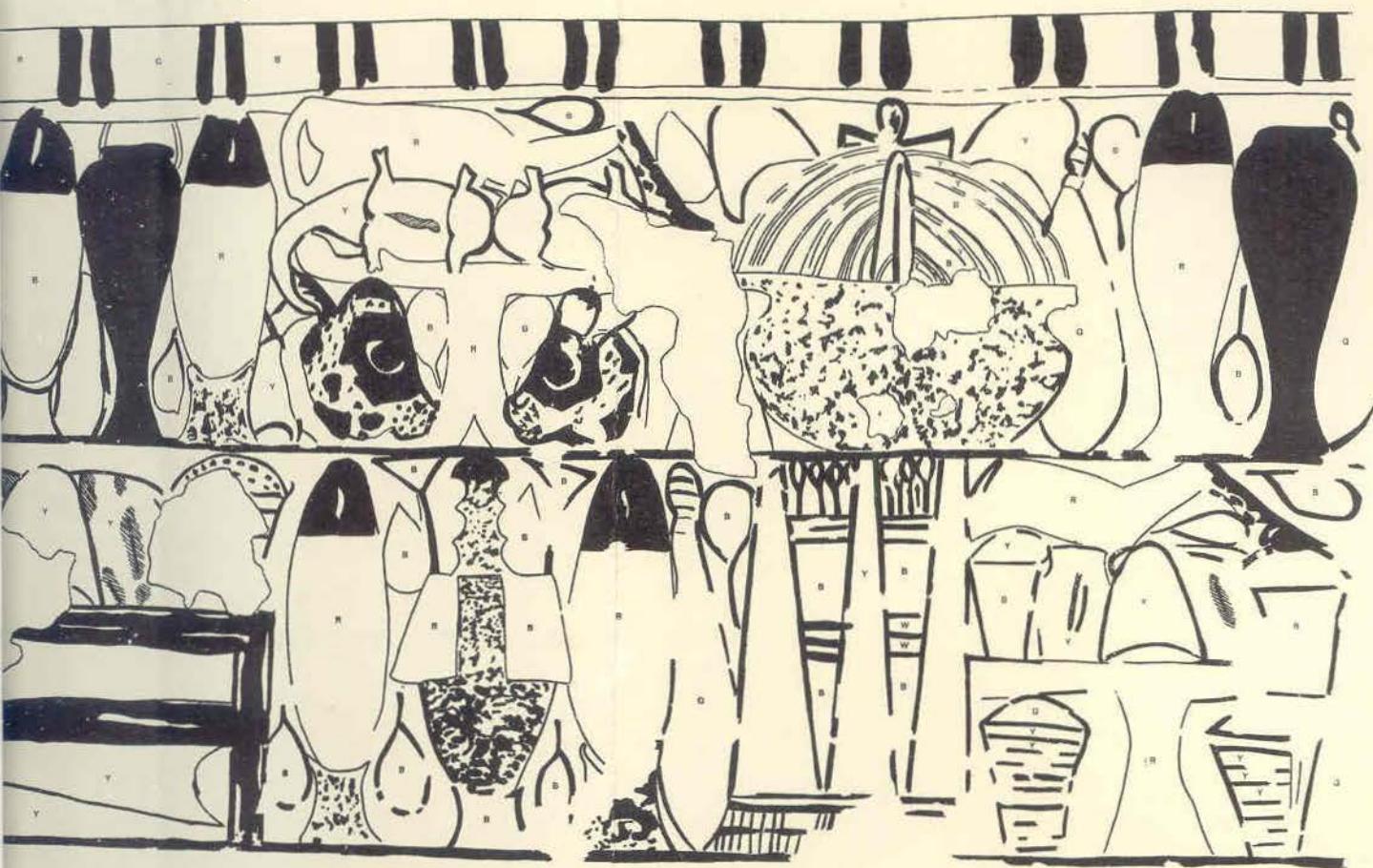


13

14

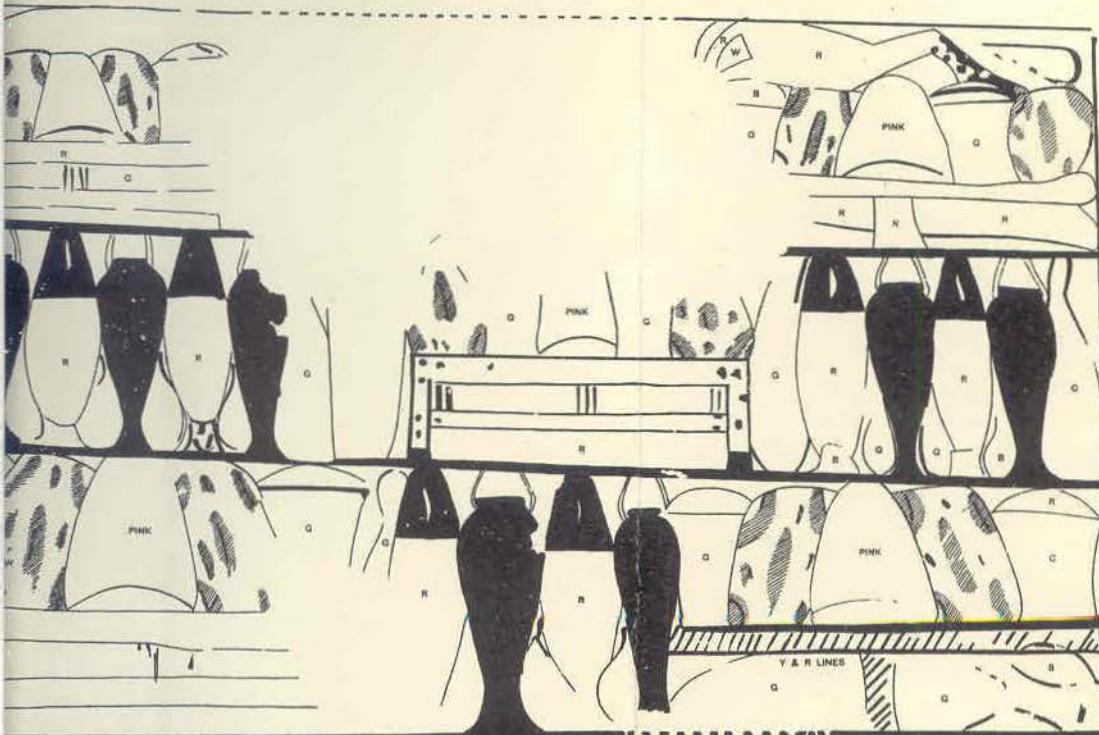
15

16

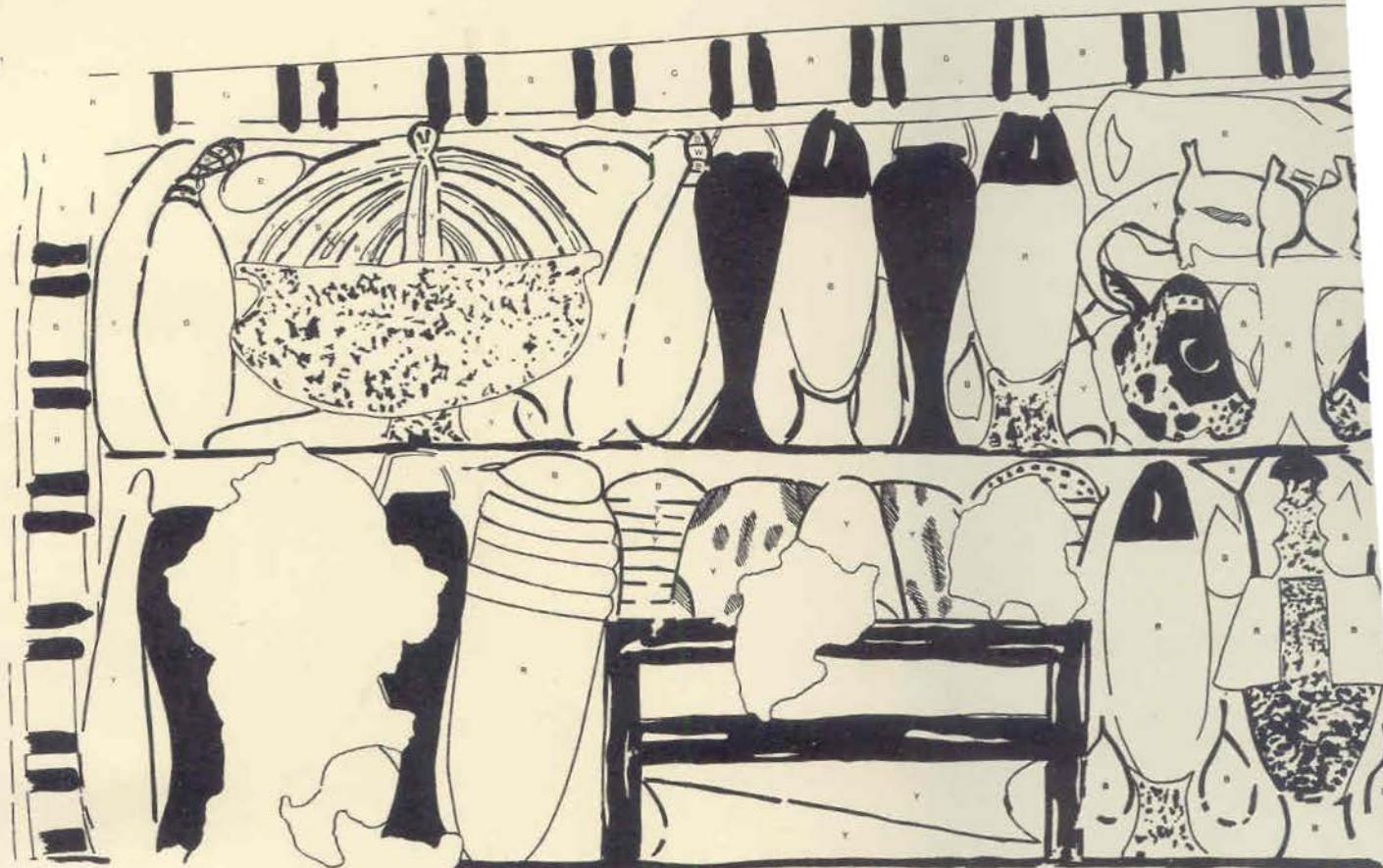


D. J. V. FORSTER

BURIAL-CHAMBER: NORTH WALL OF RECESS.

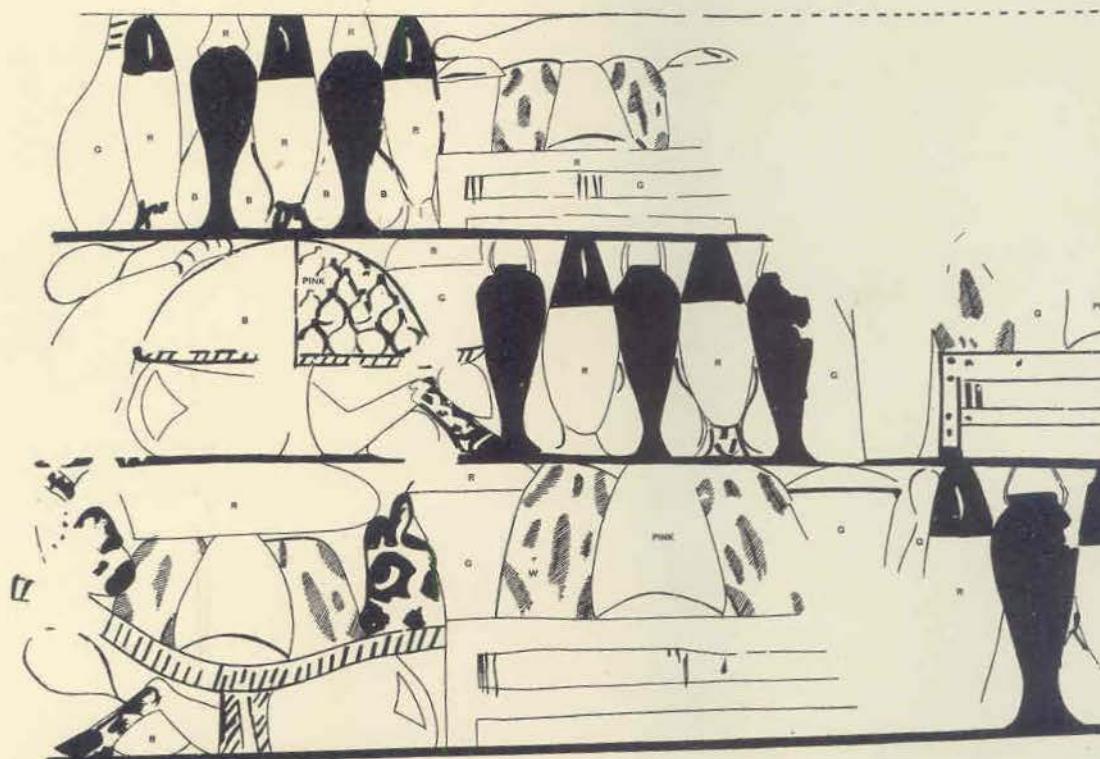


BURIAL-CHAMBER: NORTH WALL OF RECESS.



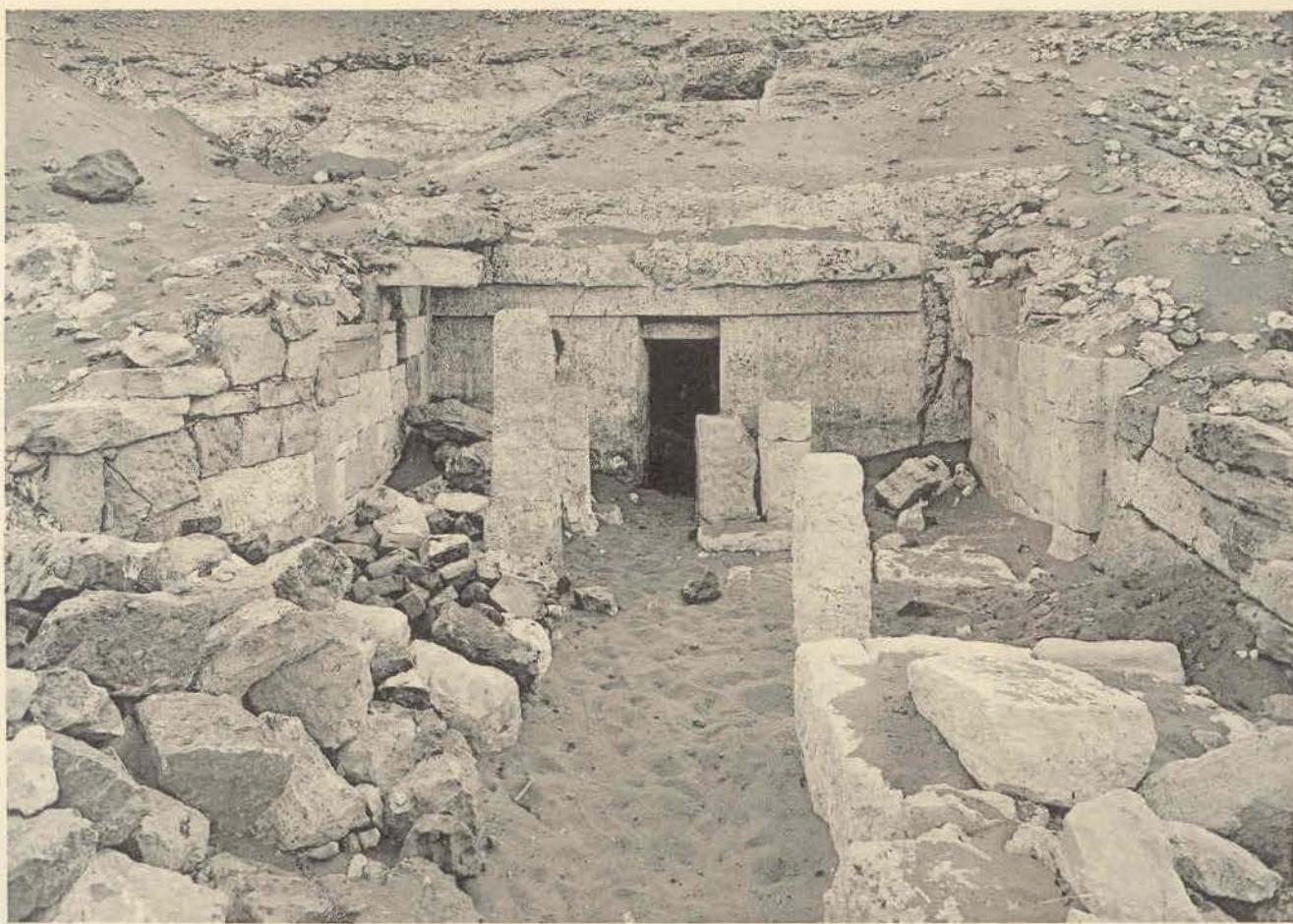
SCALE 1:6

1. SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: NORTH WALL OF

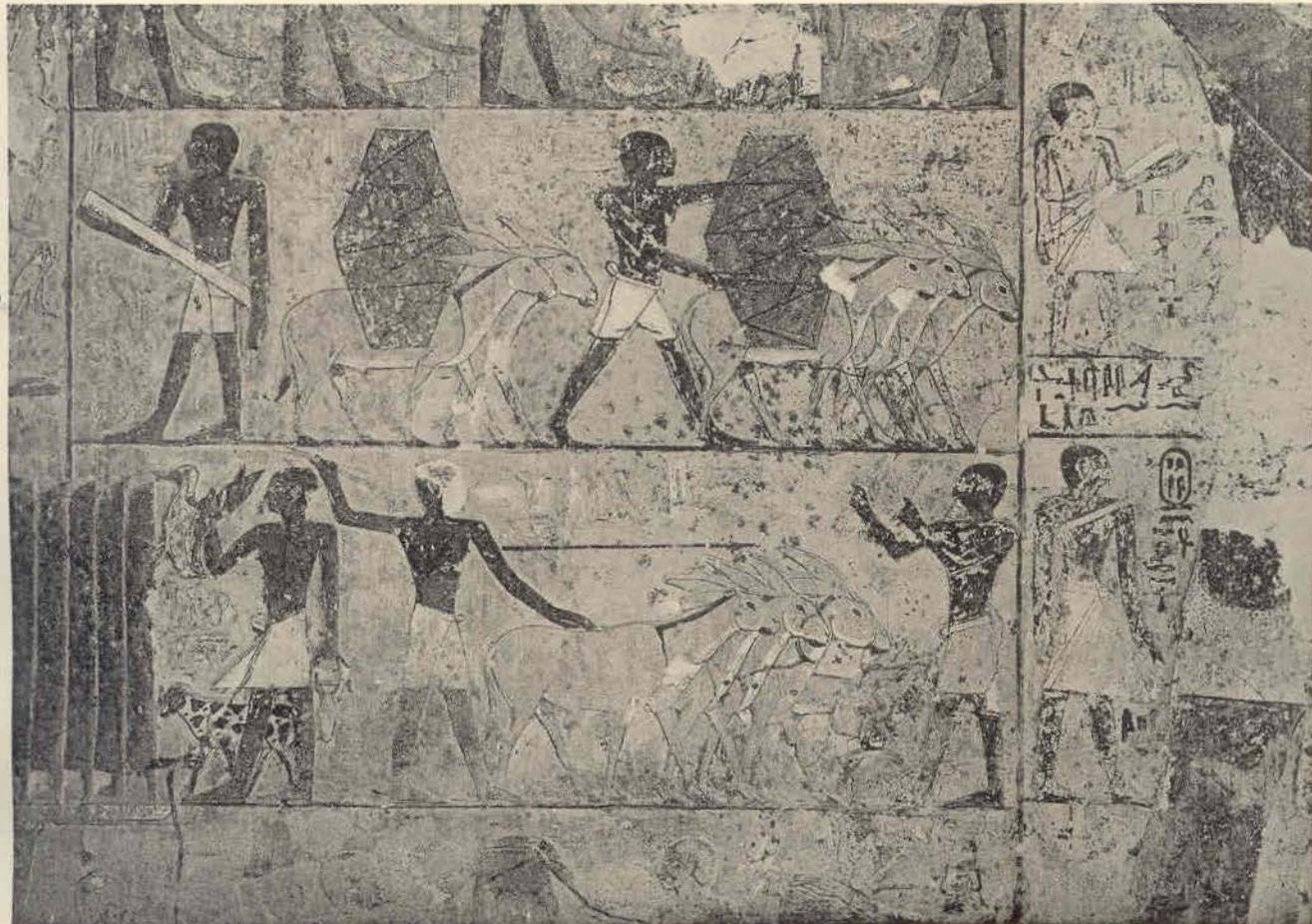


SCALE 1:6

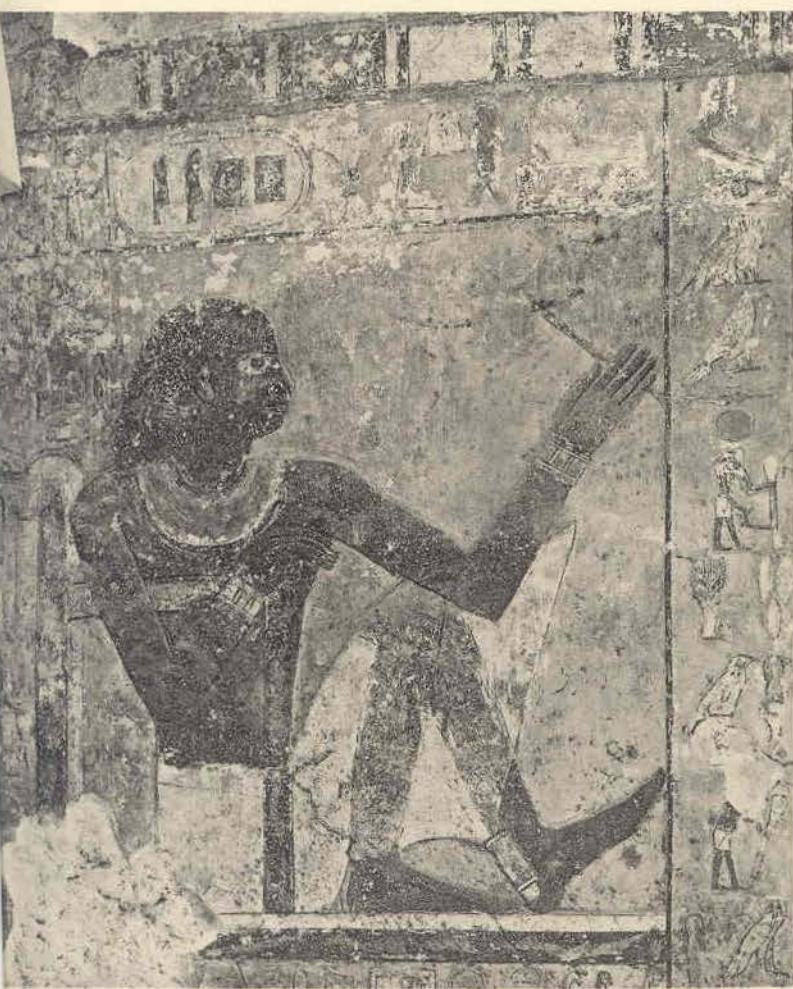
2. NORTH BURIAL-CHAMBER: NORTH WALL O



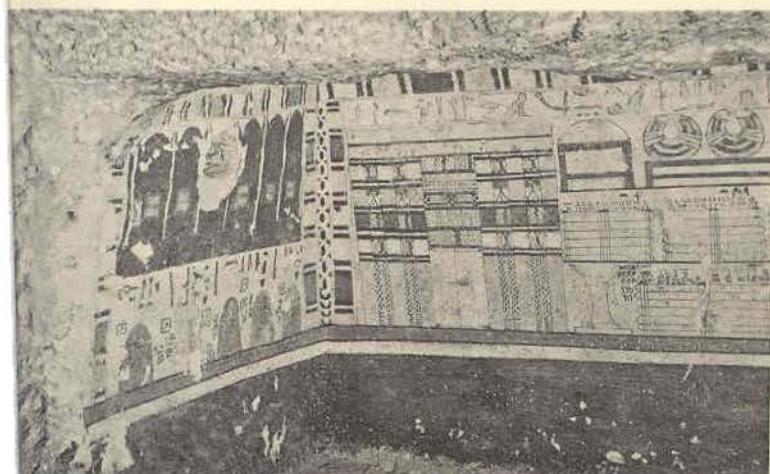
1. GENERAL VIEW OF TOMB-CHAPEL D, NO. 2.
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN MARCH 1913).



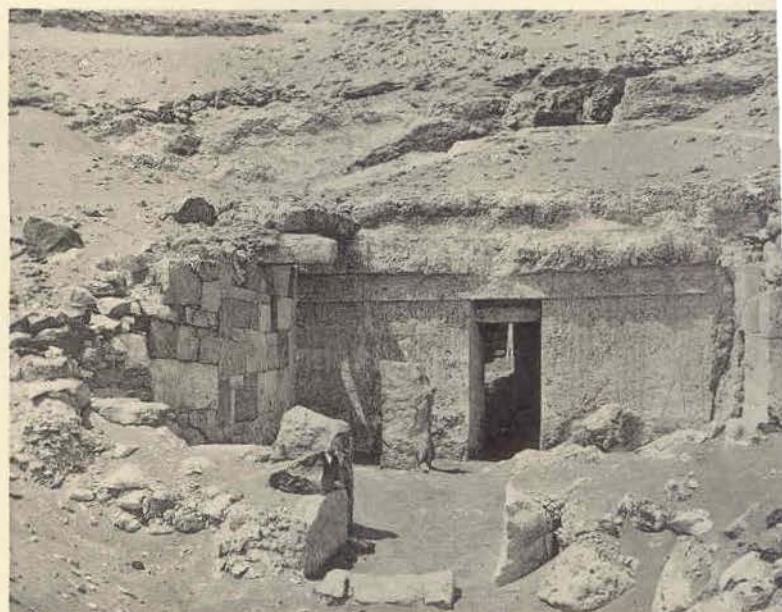
2. CARRYING AND THRESHING THE CORN.
(SEE PLATE XIV).



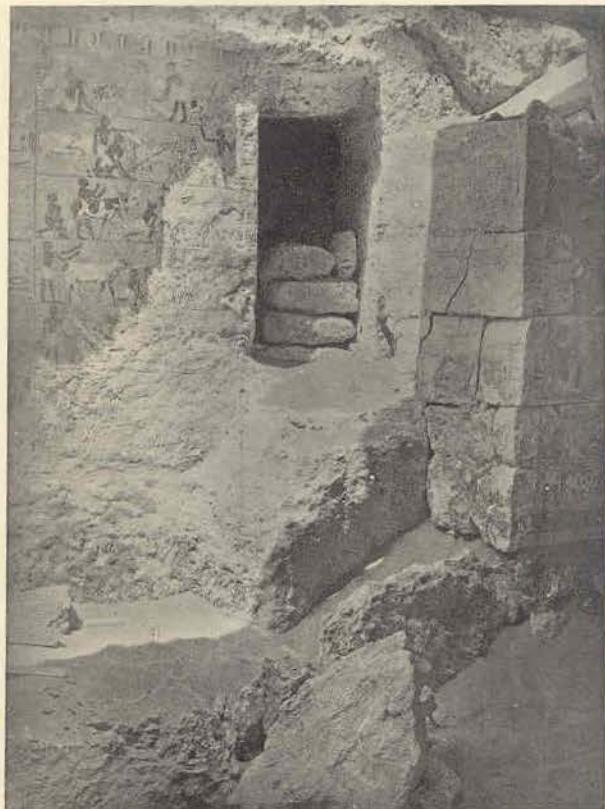
1. PEPI ONKH IN HIS CARRYING-CHAIR WATCHES
THE HARVESTING.
(SEE PLATE XIV.).



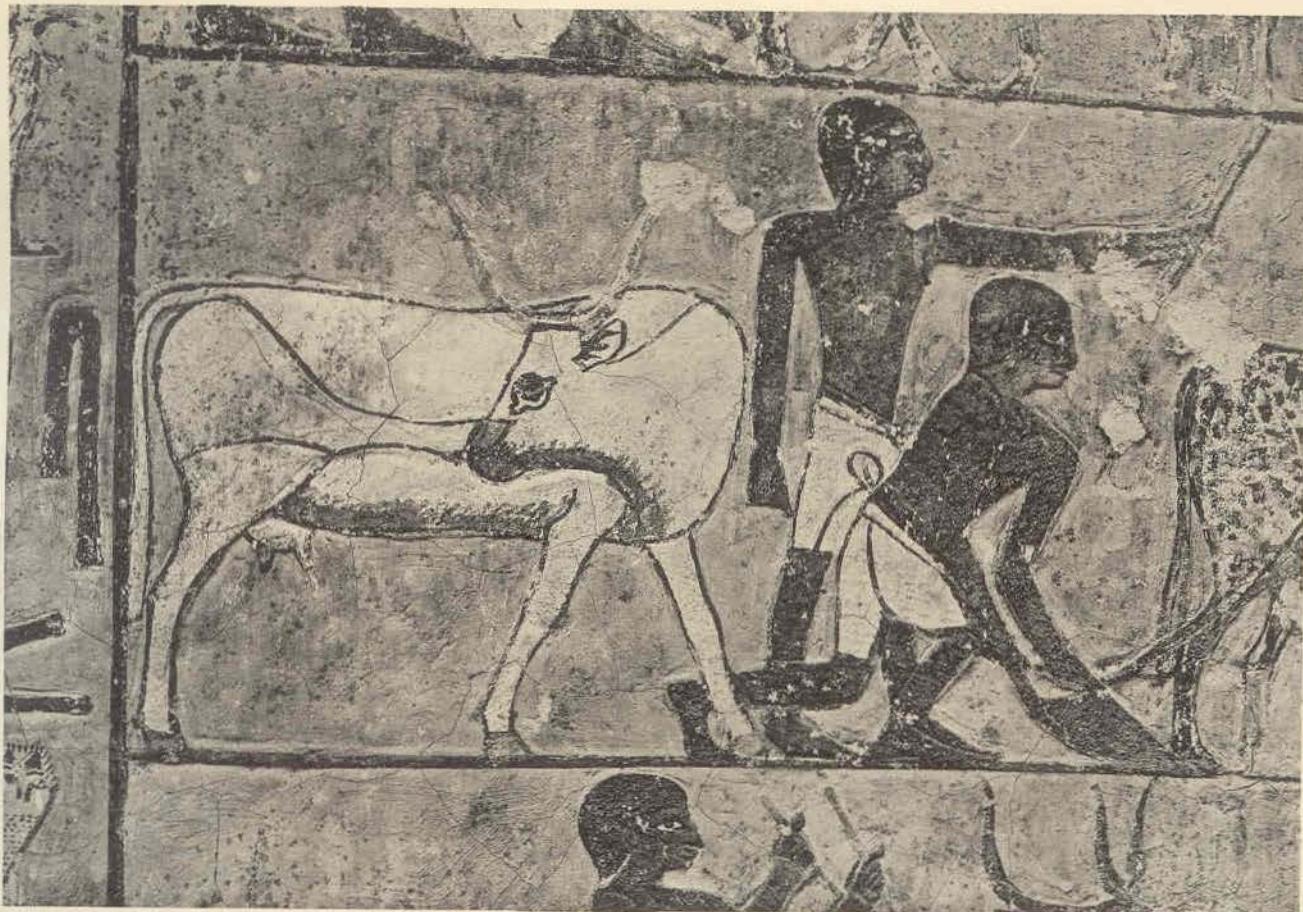
3. SOUTH WALL AND PART OF WEST WALL OF RECESS
IN NORTH BURIAL-CHAMBER.
(SEE PLATES XVIII, 2, XIX, 2).



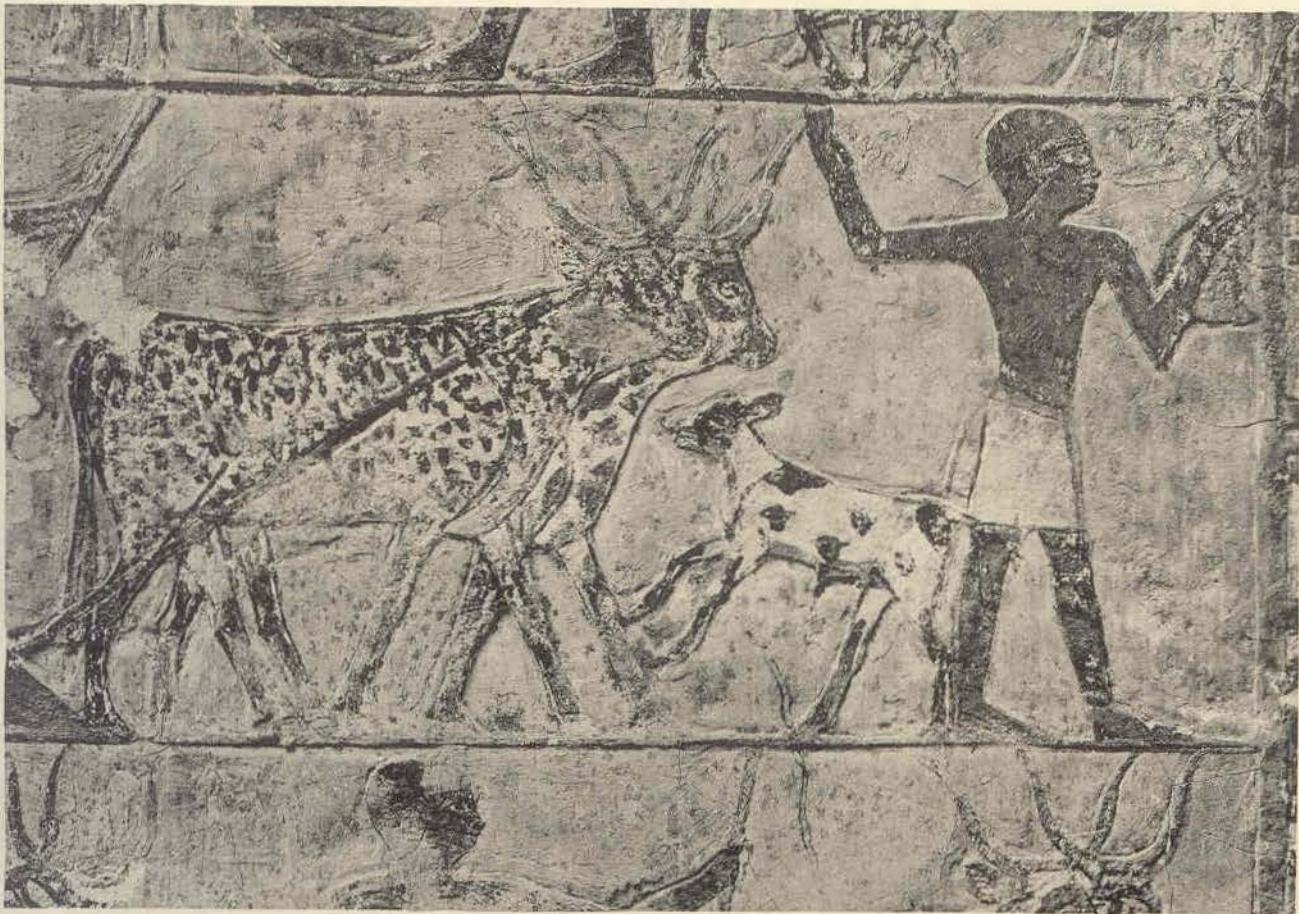
2. GENERAL VIEW OF TOMB-CHAPEL D, NO. 2.
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN APRIL 1921).



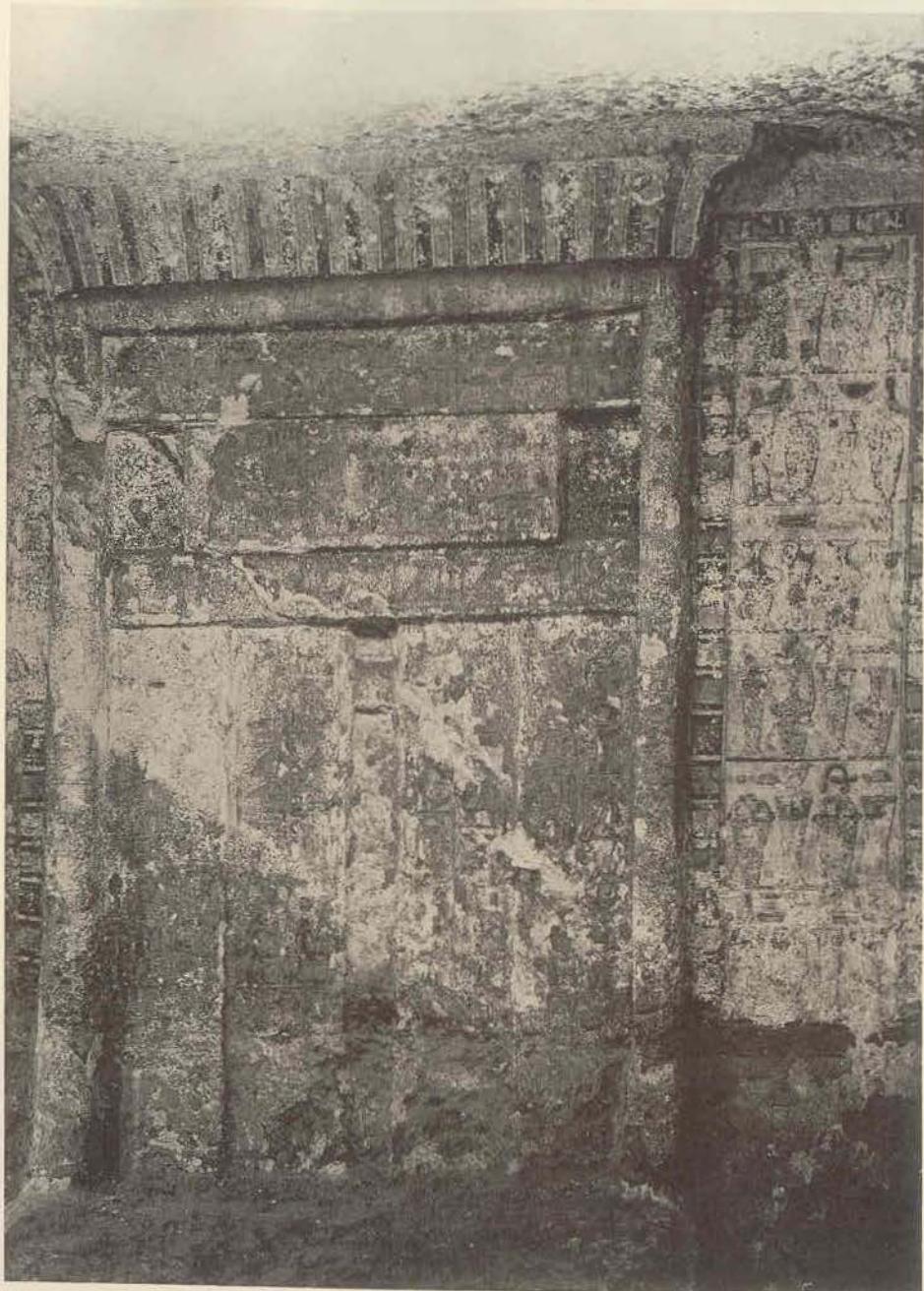
4. MAIN ROOM: PART OF WEST WALL AND
DOORWAY ADMITTING TO INNER ROOM.
(SEE PLATES XII-XIV).



1. PART OF SCENE OF PLOUGHING AND SOWING ON WEST WALL OF MAIN ROOM.
(SEE PLATE XIV).



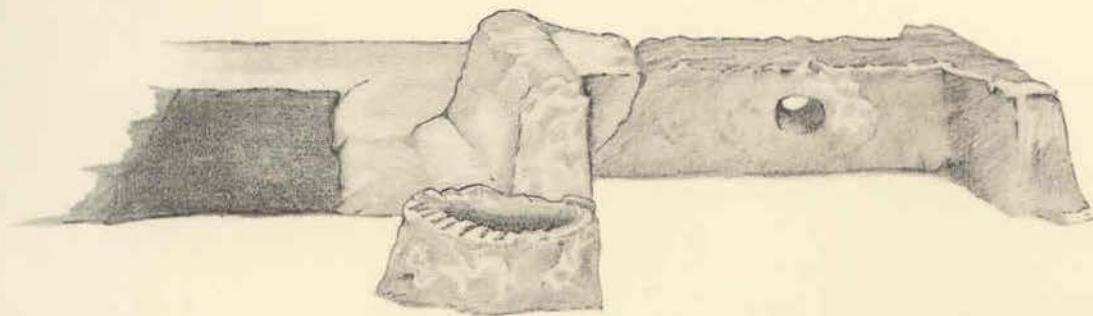
2. CONTINUATION OF ABOVE.
(SEE PLATE XIV).



1. THE FAÇADE-STELA AND ADJACENT REPRESENTATION
OF THE SEVEN UNGUENTS.
(SEE PLATES IX, XI).

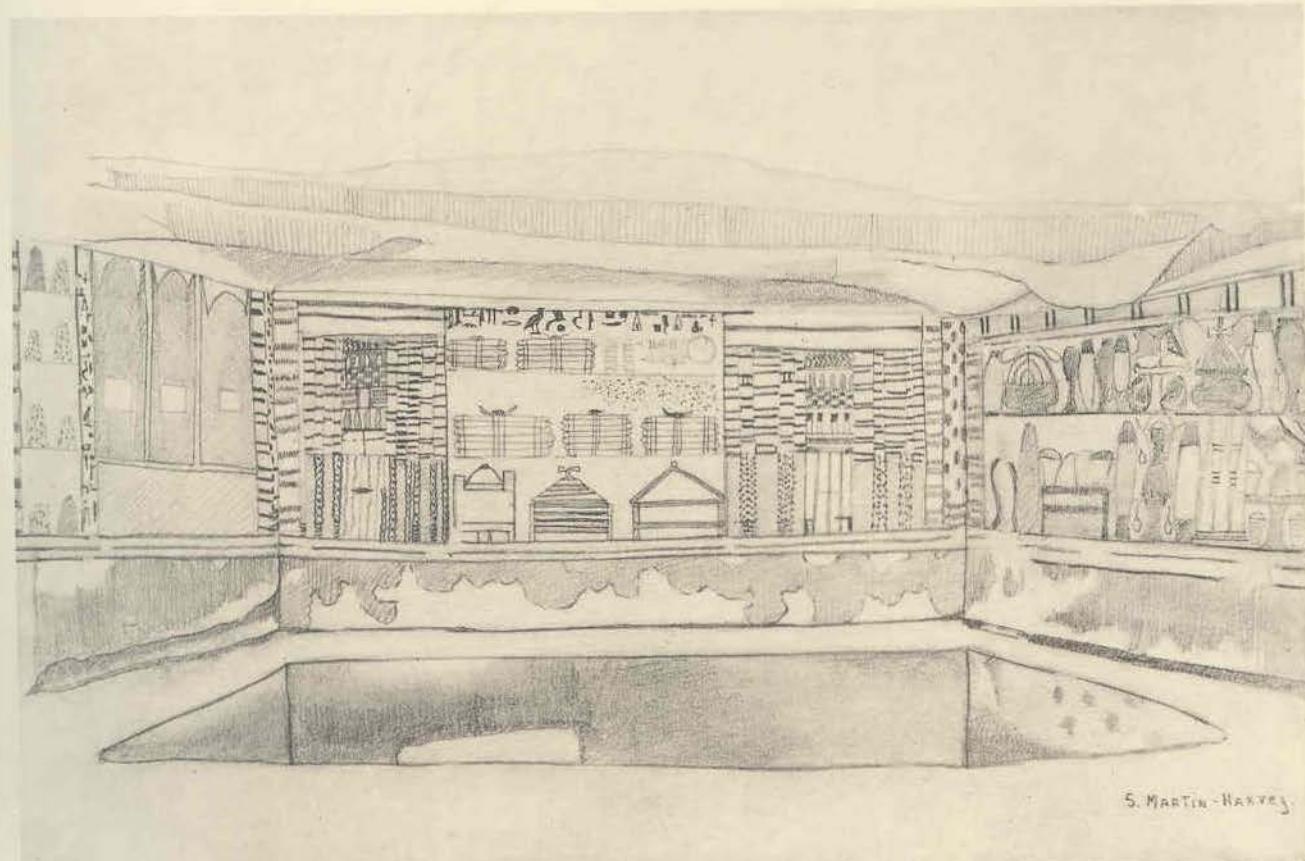


2. PEPI'ONKH RECEIVING THE IMPOSTS ON THE HERDS
OF CATTLE AND GOATS.
(SEE PLATE XVI).



S. MARTIN-HARVEY.

1. TETHERING STONE FOR VICTIM AND BASIN FOR CATCHING BLOOD
BESIDE MOUTH OF NORTH SHAFT IN MAIN ROOM.



S. MARTIN-HARVEY.

2. SKETCH OF RECESS IN SOUTH BURIAL-CHAMBER.
(SEE PLATES XVIII-XXI).